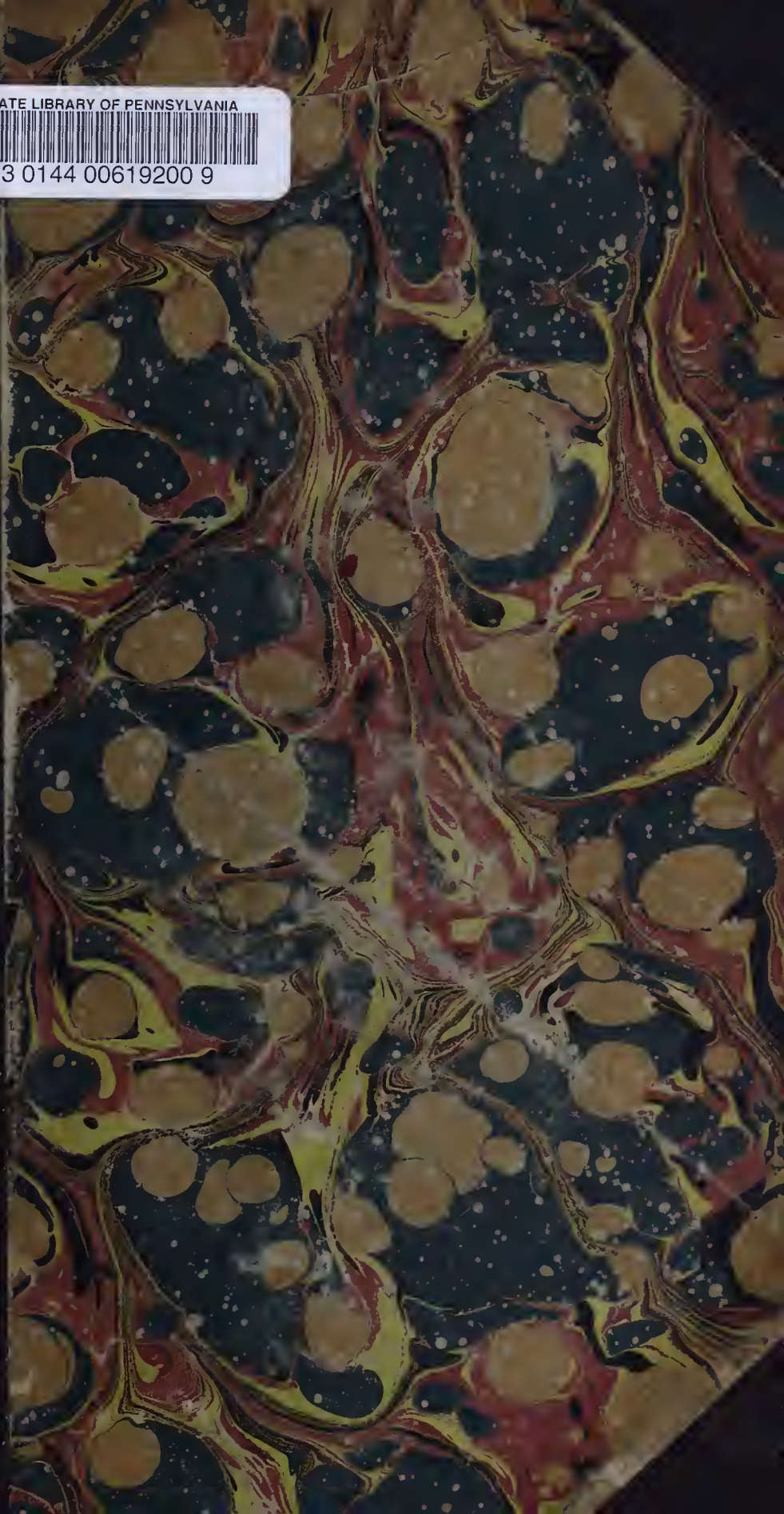


STATE LIBRARY OF PENNSYLVANIA



3 0144 00619200 9









THE  
THEOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY  
OF  
ENGLISH HISTORY;

BEING AN ATTEMPT TO IMPRESS UPON HISTORY

ITS TRUE GENIUS AND REAL CHARACTER;

AND TO PRESENT IT,

NOT AS A DISJOINTED SERIES OF FACTS,

BUT

AS ONE GRAND WHOLE:

BY

THE REV. J. D. SCHOMBERG, B. A.,

OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

Late Master of Stoke Grammar School, Leicestershire, and Vicar of Polesworth,  
Warwickshire; Author of the Elements of the British Constitution;  
Church of England its own Witness, &c,

---

VOL II.

---

LONDON:

WHITTAKER AND CO.—R GROOMBRIDGE.

LEICESTER:—J. G. AND T. C. BROWN, BIBLE AND CROWN,  
AND ALL OTHER BOOKSELLERS.

MDCCCXLII.







## CONTENTS.

---

### VOL. II.

SECTION IV., p. 1.—From the Accession of the House  
of Stuart to the Abdication of James II.

SECTION IV., p. 645—From the Reign of William III. to  
our own times.







# THEOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY, &c.

---

## SECTION IV. CHAPTER I.

---

JAMES THE FIRST.—THE SOVEREIGN POWER UNDEFIN-  
ED, AND ARBITRARY—THE PRINCIPLES OF THE  
CONSTITUTION VINDICATED BY PARLIAMENT.

---

IN accordance with the wishes of the late Queen, and in consequence of his own undoubted right, the Lords of the council immediately proclaimed James VI of Scotland, King of England, Ireland, and France, under the title of James I. and dispatched an honorable embassy, to acquaint him with the event.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. I.  
Accession of  
James.  
A. D. 1603.

The exaltation of this Prince to the throne of England, opened a new era in English History, by the vast accession of strength which the kingdom derived from the union of the two crowns.—Nor did this arise so much from the riches or number of people which it acquired, as from the termination of those unhappy disputes, which had



SECTION subsisted for centuries, and had occasioned an  
 IV. immense expenditure of national wealth, and a  
 CHAP. I. prodigious waste of human life. Henceforward,  
 their destinies are to be united; and that which  
 violence and the sword had not been able to effect,  
 was brought about by the simplest means, under  
 the superintending Providence of the Most High,  
 and for the furtherance of his benevolent purposes  
 with respect to the British Empire.

Grandson of Margaret daughter of Henry VII. It is difficult to say which of the two nations most rejoiced at the accession of the King of Scotland to the throne of England. The English felt unbounded satisfaction in receiving a Prince (whose title was undoubted) descended from the union of their two great families, and whose reputation for learning and experience, ranked him with the most gifted of men. The Scots were filled with exultation in the triumph they experienced, of giving a race of Kings to their more powerful neighbours, whose encroachments on their independence, they had, hitherto, resisted with success. It was well the Scots did not perceive the disastrous consequences which followed this union, and which arose, not from any essential evil in the union itself, but from the state of their own country and government at that period. The union of the two crowns was to be for their ultimate advantage; but not, as we shall see, for their immediate happiness. Their national crimes and barbarity required a long and tedious remedy.



But the King was now on his way. On the fourteenth of April, he left Edinburgh for London, and at the very outset of his reign discovered the peculiarity of his disposition and habits. He journeyed,—not with the ardour of a Monarch, but with the tranquillity of a philosopher,—not with the care and solicitude of a King succeeding to the cares of a great Empire, but as a private gentleman in the pursuit of amusement and pleasure. His progress to the metropolis of his new Kingdom, which occupied about a month, was conducted as a hunting expedition, and attended with vast concourses of people, who in every place, hailed the Royal hunting party with unbounded demonstrations of joy. He was magnificently and freely entertained on his route, and presented with rich gifts at every stage of his progress, so that a Scotchman in his train, who remarked this profuse liberality, was heard to remark: “This people would spoil a good King.” The King discovered his satisfaction, by the utmost condescension and familiarity, and by the liberality with which he bestowed titles of honor. Such, indeed, was his promptitude in this respect, that before he had well reached the seat of his government, he had conferred the title of knighthood on more than two hundred and thirty seven individuals, and admitted to the dignity of Privy Councillors, many of the first nobility of Scotland.

SECTION  
IV.

CHAP. I.

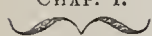
His Morbid  
disposition.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.



James has been greatly censured for his profusion in bestowing these honorary distinctions; but without due deliberation. There is every reason to believe, that the conduct of James was dictated by the soundest maxims of policy:—with that deliberation and foresight, which, in many other respects, shewed him superior to the age in which he lived. The fountain of honor had been sealed up, during the last reign, and the country unduly deprived of its just rewards; and undoubtedly, if the income of the individuals was sufficient to sustain the dignity, the Crown was adorned and the country benefited by their creation.

Person and  
Character.

The personal appearance of the King was not prepossessing. His countenance was homely and his features harsh, but not devoid of expression. In stature he was somewhat above the middle size and his form, well proportioned: but his dress was plain and ill adapted to his person. He was endowed by nature with great abilities, which had been fostered and strengthened by early culture, and a somewhat severe discipline under the celebrated Buchanan. He became deeply versed in every kind of ancient learning—his mind well stored with the lessons of past experience, and his taste grounded on the best models of antiquity; so that, when he came to the English Throne, he was undoubtedly, one of the most erudite and elegant scholars of the day. Many historians have attempted to throw discredit upon the learning



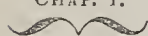
and acquirements of this Monarch. But in vain. SECTION  
 His written speeches in Parliament, his published IV.  
 works and his promptitude and readiness on all CHAP. I.  
 occasions are testimonies in his favour, which  
 cannot be gainsayed. But with all his learning His Educa-  
 and wisdom he had great defects. It must be re- tion.  
 membered that he had other instructors than  
 Buchanan. The Duchess of Mar was his precep-  
 tress, a woman of high feeling and dignified sen-  
 timent, and the young King was early instructed  
 to entertain the most lofty ideas of the kingly  
 character; and from his earliest years, was addres-  
 sed as the "Lord's anointed." But his position as  
 the King of Scotland had still more to do with  
 the formation of his character. He ascended the  
 throne of that kingdom, at an early age, under very  
 unfavourable circumstances. He had to contend  
 with every evil to which the kingly power has  
 ever been subject. His immediate attendants  
 were abject and parasitical. His nobles were  
 proud, insolent and tyrannical, his subjects bigotted  
 and severe; and the great proportion of the peo-  
 ple, ignorant and barbarous. His power was pro-  
 tected by expedients, and his government conduct-  
 ed by stratagem. Hence arose the versatility of  
 his character. His flatterers produced in him, a  
 predominant vanity and affectation of learning,  
 highly unbecoming, and almost inconsistent with  
 his real attainments. The distance and haughti-  
 ness of his nobles, induced the necessity, almost, of



SECTION creating favorites, to supply the place of more

IV.

CHAP. I.



becoming and dignified friendships; and, the extreme difficulties of his government, which he had not power, openly, to combat, exercised him in the wiles of dissimulation and cunning. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising, that all historians have found such difficulty in describing his character. We shall not further anticipate, that which properly belongs to the conclusion of the reign; but it was necessary, in conformity with our plan, to form a just perception of the disposition of the chief ruler, in order to form a proper estimate of the acts of his administration.

Ministers of  
the late Queen,  
retained in  
Office.

Such was the character of the Monarch, under whose auspices, England was now to advance in its course; and in his first act, he discovered that prudence and wisdom, which was reasonable to be expected from his long experience in government. By his letters he retained the distinguished ministers of the late Queen in their places, and afterwards, on his arrival, confirmed their appointments. Sir Robert Cecil, afterwards created Earl of Salisbury, principal Secretary of State; Thomas Lord Buckhurst, afterwards Earl of Dorset, Lord Treasurer; Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord High Chancellor; and Charles, Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral.

The nation was now ready, once more to start in its career, and with such eminent men as associates to the executive power, every thing bid fair.



for a powerful and prosperous reign. But the King's pacific disposition, his love of ease, and manner of conducting public business, did not afford that scope for the exercise of their talents, which they would have enjoyed under a more energetic and enterprising Monarch. To these famous and long-tried Councillors, the King added the Earls of Northumberland and Cumberland, the Lord Thomas Howard, and the Lord Henry Howard, afterwards the Earl of Northampton. In the appointment of the two latter noblemen, the King was doubtless actuated, as much by gratitude as policy, the one, being brother, and the other, son, to the late Duke of Norfolk, who had suffered, during the last reign, for his devotion to the interests of his mother. In their appointment also, inasmuch as they were both supposed to be the adherents of Popery, the King, in some measure, checked the discontent of the Romanists, who, already, began to surmise, that they had little to expect from the temper of the King or the change of Government.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.

Scarcely had these things been transacted, when Ambassadors arrived from Foreign powers, as well to congratulate the King upon his accession, as to convey assurances of amity and good will. First, in point of time, was Frederick V. Count Palatine of the Rhine; a person of great enterprise and high Protestant principle, whose fortunes were destined to be nearly allied to those of Eng-

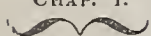
Foreign  
Ambassadors.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.



land. The States of Holland who had been so many years struggling for their independence, were early in soliciting the good will of James. An Embassy also arrived from the Emperor of Germany, Rodolphus II. who had succeeded to the dominions of the House of Austria. Nor did the King of Denmark, Christian IV. forget to congratulate his brother-in-law, on his advancement to the English Throne. Whilst, on the part of the great and heroic Henry IV. of France, Monsieur de Rigni was sent, with offers of alliance and friendship.

Breve of  
Clement VIII.

At this moment a conspiracy was discovered, which indeed, would scarcely deserve to be mentioned, did it not involve, in its consequences, the disgrace and ruin of two great and illustrious men, who had stood high in the favour and councils of the late Sovereign. The scheme of the conspirators was the same as that which had been attempted in the last reign, to dethrone the present monarch, and to place Arabella Stuart, his cousin-german, and equally descended, with himself, from Henry VII, upon the throne. The foundation of this conspiracy was the *Breve* which had been sent into England by Pope Clement VIII, during the reign of Elizabeth, excluding from the succession, every claimant, however nearly allied in blood, whose sentiments were known to be adverse to the Romish religion.—Nay, the instructions of the Breve were much stronger, and com-



manded, that they should admit none to succeed to the kingdom *when that miserable woman should die, but such a person, of whose good inclinations to the See of Rome, they should, at least, be well persuaded.* Pope Clement VIII, still filled the Papal throne. The Breve was still in force: and although the supporters of the Papacy had some reason to hope, that for his mother's sake, James would be favourable to their cause, yet when they remembered the open declaration of his sentiments in Scotland; when they observed the manner in which he was received by his protestant subjects in England; his retention of the ministers of the late Queen in office, and heard his declarations respecting the Church of England, all hope of favour died within them, and they saw that they had nothing to expect but from their own exertions.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.

In this conspiracy, Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh were concerned: but to what extent the latter illustrious person was implicated, remains in great obscurity. Weldon asserts his innocence: but his statements are denied by Bishop Goodman.\* With us, probably it will be sufficient to know, that the evidence on his trial was incomplete; and that he was condemned more by the force of authority, than direct testimony.— Lord Cobham was pardoned after he had laid his head upon the block; and Sir Walter Raleigh

Conspiracy  
from it.

\* See his *Aulicus Coquinaræ*, B. 78.



SECTION was committed to prison, where he continued  
 IV. many years, and employed his refined and vigorous  
 CHAP. I. powers in the pursuit of literature. It was during  
 this confinement, he produced his admired and immortal work, on the History of the World. The two Romish Priests who were engaged in this abortive and ill-timed conspiracy, and Mr Broke, brother of Lord Cobham, were condemned and executed.

State of the Church. The first subject of enquiry to which the royal attention was directed, was the state of ecclesiastical affairs—a subject of all others, most congenial to the mind and taste of the Monarch; and which, in its results, was likely to involve great and serious consequences.

Whitgift, the Archbishop, a man of great capacity and judgement, had dispatched the Dean of Canterbury, immediately on the death of the Queen, to congratulate King James on his accession, and to assure him of the duty and allegiance of the English Clergy. The manner in which his messenger was received, and the gracious answer returned by the King, assured the Archbishop of his good-will towards the Church of England, and afforded general satisfaction. But whilst the King was on his progress towards London, he was presented with an address, signed by nearly a thousand of the Clergy, and which, on that account, was styled, the “Millenary Petition,” in which they earnestly requested a further Reformation in



the doctrine, discipline, and government of the Church. The Clergy belonging to this party were denominated "Puritans." Their desire for alteration in doctrine, was extremely limited; their objections to the ceremonies of public worship, trifling, but, their complaints against Ecclesiastical arrangements and government, weighty and powerful, and deserving of the most serious consideration.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.

Whilst it is evident that the King entertained very favorable views of the Church of England, and was generally satisfied as to its doctrines and discipline, there were some subjects on which he desired information. For this purpose as well as to give audience to the Puritan Divines, he appointed a conference at Hampton Court, which commenced its sitting on the fourteenth day of January. The King, who was surrounded by many of the chief nobility, acted as President on this important occasion, and discovered more capacity, vigour and learning than on any future occasion. The first days conference with the Archbishop and other Bishops, was occupied in the discussion of certain inquiries propounded by himself. These points were on the form of Absolution; on Confirmation of children; on Lay-baptism in cases of urgency, and on the abuses which existed under the name of Excommunication. The King delivered his opinions on each point, with great eloquence and precision; and discover-

Hampton  
Court Confer-  
ence.  
A. D. 1603.



SECTION IV. CHAP. I. ed such traditional and theological learning as filled the audience with admiration; and on all the subjects under discussion, judicious alterations or explanations were introduced into the Rubric of the "Book of Common Prayer."

Discipline of  
the Church in-  
vaded.

In this Conference with the Bishops, the King carried himself with great affability and candour, and his observations were, generally, just and pertinent. But unfortunately whilst the members of this Conference possessed every qualification for judging, and every requisite for enforcing it, either through prejudice or the selfishness of power, their decisions on discipline, was inconsistent with the character and authority of the Church. According to the notes drawn up by Bishop Bancroft and printed in Strype,\* it was agreed, *that excommunication as then used should be taken away, both in name and nature; and a writ out of Chancery, to punish the contumacious, should be framed.* It seems incredible to us, who can view the case dispassionately, that persons of such eminence for piety and learning, should have agreed to a proposition, so utterly subversive of the first Principles of the Christian Institution. On what ground, could they agree to dispense with the power of the Church to excommunicate its turbulent or refractory members, and refer that awful responsibility to the Court of Chancery? The Power of Excommunication is the indefeasable right of

\* Strype's Whitgift, ii. 492.



the "Holy Catholic Apostolic Church;" which cannot be assumed by any other power, or exercised by any delegated authority. It is a prerogative sole and independent, and stands upon the same authority as the order of the Christian Ministry itself. If one can be dispensed with, so may the other. They both stand on the divine commission.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.

It is true, that James may have found great abuses and inconveniences attending the application of this power, as it was then exercised, when the principles of civil and ecclesiastical government were imperfectly understood. Perhaps he thought by this method, to remedy them. But instead of such a result, he perpetuated a grievous infliction upon the Church, which, as it proceeded on a false principle, we shall, no doubt, find productive of serious mischief. When the Papal supremacy was overthrown, it was unfortunate that the Sovereigns who succeeded, did not perceive the propriety of separating the civil, from the spiritual supremacy.\* The Sovereign, it is clear, was rightful political head of all ecclesiastical persons and causes. But what had that power to do with the spiritual authority of the church? What right had the Sovereign to invade the prerogative of the Church, and wield the spiritual sword? or what right had the Church to descend from her proper sphere, and in her judgments, em-

\* See Courrayer on the Supremacy.



SECTION play the temporal sword. In short, this great  
 IV. point was not understood at the Reformation,  
 CHAP. I. and, the misapprehension has been the source of  
 numerous and inveterate evils.

The conference proceeded, and on the sixteenth  
 of January, the Puritan Divines were admitted,  
 at the head of whom was Doctor Reynolds, pro-  
 fessor of divinity at Oxford. In doctrine, the only  
 alteration proposed, was the introduction into the  
 XVI Article, immediately following the words  
 “after we have received the Holy Ghost, we may  
 depart from grace,” of a qualifying clause. It  
 was also proposed, that the Lambeth Articles  
 which were highly Calvinistic should be inserted.  
 The observations of the King on this subject for  
 their sound sense and practical wisdom, are wor-  
 thy of record. “Meantime I wish that the doc-  
 trine of predestination may be tenderly handled,  
 lest, on the one side, God’s Omnipotency be ques-  
 tioned by impeaching the doctrine of his eternal  
 predestination; or, on the other side, a desperate  
 presumption arreared, by inferring the necessary  
 certainty of persisting in grace.”

Ceremonies es-  
 tablished.

When an exception was taken to the reading  
 of the Apochrypha, the King desired them to mark  
 those chapters which were exceptionable; and a  
 minute was made to omit the reading of such por-  
 tions, as were inconsistent with the canonical Scrip-  
 ture. But when objections were made to the sur-  
 plice, the sign of the Cross in Baptism, and the



use of the ring in Marriage, the King interrupted the learned Professor and said, *he apprehended that the Surplice was a very comely garment; that the Cross was as old as Constantine, who could not be charged with Popery; besides, that it was no more a significant sign than imposition of hands, which was not objected to*, and thus, these points as they deserved, were summarily dismissed.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.

But when Doctor Reynolds arrived at the principal point in dispute, and pointed out the grievances in Church Government, and the abuses of the Ecclesiastical courts; and entreated the King to restore the local clerical assemblies, which they enjoyed in Archbishop Grindal's time, and, that Church matters which could not be resolved there, might be reserved for the Archdeacons' visitation, and from thence, if necessary, be transferred to the Diocesan Synod—the King, remembering what he had suffered under Presbyterian tyranny in Scotland; and still smarting under the galling infliction, lost all patience and burst into a flame; and, without waiting for any further remark, he observed, that *he saw they were aiming at a Scots Presbytery*; and, after indulging in a lively sally at the expense of the Scotch Reformers, ended with the arbitrary announcement—“If this be all your party have to say, I will make them conform, or I will hurry them out of the land, or else worse.”

Evils of Government perpetuated.

I have been particular to give a just and perspicuous view of this conference because it is es-



SECTION sential to our history ; and forms a very important

IV. link in the line of events. An opportunity was

CHAP. I.



afforded to those in power, of consulting the best interests of the Church and Nation. Dissent at this period, was unknown. It was not contemplated by the Puritans. For, some time after this Conference, in their defence for refusing subscription to the Book of Common Prayer, “willingly and from their hearts,” they use these words. “We protest before the almighty God, that we acknowledge the Churches of England as they be established by public authority, to be true visible Churches of Christ, that we desire the continuance of our ministry in them, above all earthly things, as that, without which, our whole life would be wearisome and bitter to us.”

Notwithstanding this declaration, no doubt there were amongst the divines, many who were endued with a rash, innovating spirit, and, who from their residence abroad, had imbibed the Presbyterian views of discipline ; but they were, generally speaking, moderate in their demands, and determined, if possible, to preserve the unity of the Church. The Bishops, also, were temperate and judicious men, and sincere in their desires to benefit the Church, by remedying abuses and amending the Ecclesiastical laws. But the King’s arbitrary conduct, which shewed itself at the conclusion of the conference, put an end to all salutary Reform ; extinguished all hope in the breasts of



the moderate Reformers, stimulated the decision of the wavering, and inflamed the minds of the intemperate.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.



The King's

conduct found-  
ed on know-  
ledge.

In all probability whatever had been the decision of this conference, a very great number of persons would have remained dissatisfied; and the unity of the Church might still have been endangered. The King, in coming to the decision which he did, was guided by rule, founded on an intimate knowledge of the subject. His view of the case generally, was most reasonable. He felt assured that, those were the true principles of Church polity, which came nearest to the ancient and universal practice. It was wise, therefore, and just, to stand upon the grand principle of Church government, and not to submit to any innovation. His resolution on this point, founded on reason and knowledge, was firm and immovable; and, so far he is deserving of our highest gratitude. And, when we consider his peculiar situation during the early part of his life—the scenes of religious violence and tumult amongst which his opinions were formed; the extended and peculiar character of his education, which eminently fitted him for taking a just view of this most important subject, he will appear an eminent instrument in the Hand of God; and, more especially as at that time, the individual power of the Monarch was supreme in Ecclesiastical matters, and might, through rashness or ignorance, have



SECTION overthrown the whole frame-work of the Church  
 IV. Establishment.

CHAP. I.

But not in  
 Charity.

Notwithstanding, whilst the King and Bishops were fully justified in permitting no innovation on the essential principle of Church Government, they might, by a conciliatory conduct, have availed themselves of the learning and piety of the Puritans, to the incredible advantage of the Church. I do not mean that they should have dispensed with uniformity in worship. I think they were bound to maintain it. But, as most of their objections were really trifling, by a little concession, great good might have been obtained, at little cost. Unfortunately, conciliation was not attempted.

True Power  
 of the Church.

Nor was this the worst. A false and arbitrary position was taken up, and persevered in, which has been the foundation of unheard-of evils in the Commonwealth. Not content with exacting uniformity in the administration of public Worship, which they had a solemn right to do, and depriving those of their Ecclesiastical functions, who would not submit to the decisions of the Church—they proceeded to coerce, and fine and imprison them for disobedience. Upon no principle divine or human, could such a course be justified. The Author of Christianity granted no such authority. His commission to his Church was great, awful and irresponsible. But it was wholly spiritual. No carnal, no earthly instrument of coercion, was allowed. The Church requires no aid to strength-



en her judgments. They are inconceivably grand, and beyond the aid of human power, which can only encumber them. It is as if the speed of the tempest could be accelerated by machinery, or the voice of thunder increased by the discharge of artillery. The Church, indeed, demands the countenance and support of the Civil Governor, because she is "by many infallible proofs" a divine institution. But if he attempts more than this, and uses his temporal power, for counteracting or enforcing her decrees, he invades her prerogative, and must create immeasurable evils in her administration.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.

But, if Jesus Christ, did not grant any such temporal power to his Church—nay, it would be derogatory to his divine character to suppose the possibility of it, inasmuch as he has granted to it, a power, infinitely transcending all earthly power; and which, can only be degraded and injured by its interference—if Jesus Christ has not sanctioned it, upon what ground can any human authority assume the power of coercing the human mind? It is unjust and arbitrary to attempt it: and, if attempted, impossible to accomplish.

This simple principle, as grand as it is simple, was not understood by King James. He might have learnt it, in the troublous school in which he was educated. But his extravagant notions of the Kingly Prerogative, were exasperated by the sha-

Invaded by

James.



SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. I.  
dow of opposition, and he commenced a system of action, which was rapidly followed by the most serious evils, and overwhelmed his House with destruction. But I must not anticipate.

Catechism,  
Canons, Bible.

But other matters were transacted in this conference, which have been rendered important from the direction and character which they have given to our Ecclesiastical affairs. By a decree of this Conference, the Canons were compiled by the Convocation which sat concurrent with the succeeding Parliament. These Canons, or regulations for the discipline of the Church, are one hundred and forty-one in number, but are not considered binding on the Laity, because the King presuming on his prerogative, did not condescend to ask the sanction of Parliament. The general character of these Canons is harsh and arbitrary, and suited to the period at which they were promulgated. Many of their enactments have been superseded by later statutes. Others have been rendered obsolete by the change of times and customs, whilst as a whole, they are inoperative and inconvenient. We must not forget to acknowledge our obligations to this Conference, for that concise and beautiful summary of the Christian Sacraments, which is appended to the Catechism of the Church, and respecting which, we can have but one wish, that it may be perpetual.

This vain attempt of the King to give the force of law to his royal prerogative, has been the source



of prodigious evil. The Church has been left without a directory or rule. Ministerial authority, in fact, abolished, and every man left without a master, to do what was right in his own eyes: nor can I perceive the justice of the distinction between the Clergy and Laity. I can easily conceive how a Clergyman may be amenable to his diocesan, without any such rules, in all simple Ecclesiastical admonition and censure; but surely, where Canons are sanctioned and enforced by civil punishments, the Clergy ought to be as much under the protection of law, as the Laity. It is slavery to admit any such distinction. A Clergyman does not lose his citizenship, by the imposition of the hands of the Bishop and Presbytery.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.

But we are still more immeasurably indebted to it, for the present authorised translation of the Holy Bible. This, indeed, was the glory of the reign; and had King James lived and reigned for no other purpose than to accomplish this magnificent work, he had not lived in vain; his reign would have answered a great and sufficient purpose. As a complete work, it was perhaps, one of the greatest achievements ever accomplished by human ability and has stood the test of the severest criticism, which the learning of later years has been able to exercise. It is true, some of the words which it contains have become obsolete, some passages are obscure, and even some errors have been discovered; but still as a composition,

Version of  
the Bible.



SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I.

like the Book of Common Prayer, it stands unrivalled, and will long remain the Palladium of English Protestantism as well as the standard of the English language. Through its medium the sacred lamp of Truth has shone with a pure and steady light, and through the energies of the British Nation, has penetrated into the darkest and most remote corners of the earth. The names of the translators deserve to be recorded to our latest posterity.\*

\* Their number was forty seven, and they were divided into six Committees to meet at Westminster, and the two Universities.

Andrews, D. of *Westminster*.

Overall, D. of *St. Pauls*.

Saravin,

Clerke,

Layfield

Leigh,

Burleigh,

Kinge,

Thomson,

Bedwell,

Barlow, D. of *Chester*,

Hutchinson,

Spenser,

Fenton,

Rabbett,

Sanderson,

Dakins,

Pentateuch.—The story

from Joshua to the First

Book of Chronicles exclusive.

The Epistles of St. Paul,

and the Canonical Epistles.

*The Classes at Cambridge were*

Lively,

Richardson,

Chaderton,

Dillingham,

Harrison,

Andrews,

Spaldinge,

Birge,

From the First of Chroni-

cles with the rest of the story,

and the Hagiographia, viz.

Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Can-

tica, Ecclesiastes.



The first meeting of parliament which immediately followed, passed over without any thing remarkable except the King's speech, which was a kind of prologue to the parliamentary scenes which were shortly to be transacted. It was a master piece of eloquence, adorned with learning and replete with enlightened views, far superior to the age in which he lived. He propounded with precision, the duties of Kings and subjects. He went further; and with a frankness, which almost amounted to rashness, he removed the hal-  
lowed vail, which the hand of time had thrown over the institutions of the Monarchy; and called

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.

Meeting of  
Parliament.

Duport,  
Brathwaite,  
Radcliffe,  
Ward,  
Downes,  
Boyse,  
Warde,

The Prayer of Manasses,  
and the rest of the Apocrypha.

*At Oxford.*

Hardinge,  
Reynolds,  
Holland,  
Kilby,  
Smith,  
Brett,  
Fareelow,

The four greater Prophets  
with the Lamentation, and the  
twelve lesser Prophets.

Ravis, D. of *Ch. Ch.*  
Abbot, D. of *Winchester*,  
Montague, D. of *Worces.*  
Thompson, D. of *Winds.*  
Savile,  
Perin,  
Ravens,  
Harmer,

The four Gospels, Acts of  
the Apostles, Apocalypse.



SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I.

the attention of mankind to the abstract principles of Government—principles which they had scarcely ever ventured to investigate. He boldly stated the grand and fundamental law of our Constitution—that the Monarch is amenable for his actions to none but God—a statement sufficiently startling when made as an abstract proposition, without its proper limitation or rational safeguard. The King fully believed the abstract principle, founded on a divine and original right, which flowed from his legitimate title to the throne. He considered himself as “the anointed of God,” and acknowledged no limitation to his prerogative, but the good of the people. Indeed, the power and sovereignty of the English Kings at this period, was undefined. All the rational principles of Government were inherent in the constitution, but they had not then been fully examined, and were not understood. The King led the way, and boldly commenced the examination; and was thus made the unconscious instrument of evolving the true principles of our civil polity. This position, that the King “*can do no wrong*,” and is answerable to God, alone, for his actions, is now fully recognized as a fundamental maxim of our political system; but rendered perfectly consistent with reason and common sense, by the adoption of another principle, that the official advisers of the Monarch are answerable for their conduct, to the representatives of the people,—an arrangement



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.



which places the rights of the people as well as those of the Monarch, under the divine sanction, and gives to both, an interest in the impartial administration of the Most High. The authority of the Prince emanates from the Divine Power; the rights of the people are secured by the sanction of divine justice. "Passive obedience and non-resistance" are idle terms which have occupied the volumes of Polemics; but which have no meaning under our happy constitution. It cannot be presumed, that the Sovereign power is more the object of the divine care, than the multitude of the people. Both are recognized by the state as equally the subjects of his care. The prerogative of the King is secured from popular invasion; the rights of the people, from royal aggression.

In this same speech, to which we have been directing the reader's attention, the King drew a strong contrast between a legitimate Sovereign and a usurper, in which he ventured to assert—that the former, considered himself ordained to secure the wealth and prosperity of the people, whilst the latter, viewed his people as ordained to satisfy his inordinate desires and appetites—thus claiming for "rightful" Sovereigns, a kind of moral as well as political perfection. These overwrought statements, inconsistent with the sobriety of truth, afforded, no doubt, ample materials for thought to the reflecting and independent spirits

Extreme  
views of the  
King.



SECTION of the age, and laid the foundation for consequences little anticipated by this sagacious Prince.

IV.

CHAP. I.

Offends the  
Protestants.

With equal candour he declared his sentiments on the all-important subject of Religion, and shewed by what means the Romish Religion might not only be tolerated, but brought into unity with the established Catholic faith of the realm, if its guardians would do as the Church of England had done—trace back the Institutions of Christianity, abolish all innovations on the primitive doctrine and practice, and bring the usages of the church, as near as possible, into conformity with the Catholic and Apostolic Institution. If they would act on this principle, the King promised to “meet them half-way;” by which he meant, that he would subject the Reformation of the English Church, to the same ordeal; and ground the union of the two churches on the result of the investigation. This reasonable and enlightened view of the subject, gave general dissatisfaction to the nation, which had just escaped out of the merciless hands of Popery, and still remembered with horror, the fires and tortures of that intolerant domination. The people imagined that the King spoke too favorably of Romanism; and the Puritan clergy, especially, not only took umbrage at the royal declaration, but even made it a subject of outcry and alarm. But time, which tries our opinions, has fully established the solidity and accuracy of the King’s statements. The



knowledge and experience of modern times have only served to illustrate and confirm their truth ; and, to demonstrate, that it is the only true principle upon which Ecclesiastical Reform can be conducted, and the only ground on which we can be justified even in acknowledging the Church of Rome as an Institution of Christ.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.

But this is not all : not only did the King give offence to the Protestants by these declarations, he gave still greater offence to the Romanists, by a declaration equally candid and reasonable, that *“ the Papists were unsufferable in the Kingdom, as long as they maintained the Pope to be their spiritual head, and to have the power to dethrone Kings.”*

Offends the  
Romanists.

In this Parliament also he commenced his efforts for accomplishing the union of the two kingdoms, a grand political project, in which he again shewed himself superior to the prejudices of the age. He took the name of King of Great Britain, and quartered the arms of the two nations on his flags, and to give a striking idea of the peaceful advantages of such a union, he caused the iron gates of the frontier towns to be converted into ploughshares. But in vain. All he could accomplish, was the appointment of Commissioners to treat upon the subject ; but the prejudices of both countries were immovable. Scotland was doomed to suffer a century of barbarism, and placed in a situation, of all others, the most singular and unhappy. Its Monarch from being the



SECTION most limited, had, by his accession to the English throne, become the most powerful Sovereign in Europe. Its nobles from being the most free and independent chiefs of Christendom, had, by the union of the two crowns, become the most subject and dependent, whilst the people exposed to the absolute dictation of their Monarch, and to the uncontrolled jurisdiction of their aristocracy, suffered all the miseries peculiar to both those forms of Government.

IV.

CHAP. I.

Peace with  
Spain.

The war in which Queen Elizabeth had been engaged with Spain, was not yet concluded; and James, on his accession to the English throne, found himself placed in an anomalous situation: as King of Scotland, he was at peace with Spain, as King of England he was at war with that power. But his ruling policy was peace, which arose partly from an open and pacific disposition, but still more, from a solid conviction of the justice and advantage of a system of peace. The King of Spain and the Pope also, from different motives, favored pacific measures, and a treaty of peace was soon concluded, with an interchange of the most magnificent presents; and a perfect reconciliation was established between the two Monarchs—a reconciliation which was as hearty and sincere on the one side, as it was hollow and deceptive on the other, and which, in the end, proved most disastrous to the House of Stuart. Peace itself may be bought too dear, when purchased at



the expense of principle; and in this instance, it is to be feared, to gratify some personal peculiarity the King rejected the lessons of national experience. A system of peace, in itself, must be good, and is, certainly, most consistent with the principles of eternal truth and justice. It was the policy pursued by Henry VII; but there was more vigour in his administration, and a more effective preparation for war; and it may be laid down as an established maxim, that amidst the uncertain and fluctuating changes of political affairs, arising from the violence and suddenness of human passions, a system of peace can never be adopted, without a serious preparation for war.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. 1.

Scarcely had this important treaty been concluded, and the emblems of peace were floating from every tower and eminence in the kingdom; when, before the meeting of Parliament, which had been summoned, a fearful conspiracy was discovered; which had for its object, the destruction of the King, Lords, and Commons at one blow. The cellars under the two houses of Parliament were hired, and stored with gunpowder, which, on the opening of the Session was to be fired; and to involve all the members of the Legislature in one common and tremendous ruin. Never did a more infernal project enter into the human mind: and, in the Records of Crime, it stands unparalleled for the wicked ingenuity of its contrivance, and the cruel barbarity of its intended

Gunpowder  
Plot.  
A. D. 1605.



SECTION execution : and affords to mankind, another striking proof of the intolerant spirit of that APOSTATE CHURCH, which gave it birth.

IV.

CHAP. I.



The Conspirators.

The principal conspirators, were generally, men of ancient family, unspotted character, and independent fortune. Catesby, who may be considered as the chief projector of the plot, was descended from Catesby, of infamous memory, the wicked counsellor of Richard III, whose evil genius he inherited ; and on whom the Divine vengeance, was about to retribute the crimes of his progenitor. The conspirators met for the purpose of consultation, in a place behind Saint Clement's church, and when they had resolved upon the manner of executing their enterprise, their next step was to consult their *spiritual guides*, on the lawfulness of undertaking it. The individual, whom they chiefly consulted on this occasion, was Henry Garnet, superior of the Jesuits in England, in connexion with Oswalde Tesmond, and John Gerard, associates of the same order. The project was highly applauded ; and they were assured that they might proceed with *a good conscience ! and perform the deed ; since their design was against heretics, and persons excommunicated.*

Satisfied of the religious and meritorious character of their undertaking, they proceeded without delay, to bind themselves to its accomplishment, by solemn oaths, which were administered by the Jesuit, Gerard ; and such was the resolution and



religious fury inspired into their breasts ; that although twenty persons were possessed of the dreadful secret, no emotions of pity, no hope of reward, no fear of punishment prevailed on any of the conspirators to abandon the plot, or, to make a discovery of it. Every arrangement was now made, and the conspirators waited with impatience for the meeting of Parliament. The most difficult and dangerous part of the enterprise, was committed to Guido Fawkes, who had been in the Spanish service, and was a person of desperate courage, and a furious Romanist. To him was intrusted the care of the cellars, in which the gunpowder was stored. Suspicion was absent. The fatal day was rapidly approaching ; and Guido Fawkes, with blind, fanatical zeal, was fully resolved to fire the train, and to sacrifice himself, that he might *avenge the Church, and destroy the enemies of God.*

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.



Nothing was now wanting but the flight of time to crown their barbarous plot with success. It was deep as hell ;—secret as the grave !—and impenetrable as the shades of night. But it was not to succeed ; there was an overruling Power above, with whom “ the darkness is no darkness at all ;” and to whose all-seeing eye, the hearts of men and their secret machinations are naked and exposed. HE, saw through the clouds and mystery with which they had thought to conceal their murderous design ; and, in his righteous providence, he

The Plot  
frustrated.



SECTION determined to bring the hidden deed to light, and  
IV. to exhibit it, in all its frightful enormity, before

CHAP. 1.



the eyes of an astonished world. The discovery arose from the same fanaticism which gave it birth. Just before the perpetration of the final act, a conscientious scruple arose in the breasts of the confederates, not awakened by any generous sentiment, but generated by their bigotted partialities—whether it would be lawful to destroy the righteous with the wicked—the Popish, with the Protestant lords. The case of conscience was formally proposed by Catesby to their spiritual director; and, it was resolved by Garnet to this effect, that if the advantage would be greater by destroying the innocent with the guilty, it was lawful to destroy the whole. This difficulty surmounted, nothing was left but for every man to hasten to his post; and in silence to await the catastrophe. All were obedient to their solemn engagements; and all, but one, fully coincided in the decision of Garnet; and this one, had a private partiality to gratify. He wished to save Lord Monteagle, and, in order to prevent his attending Parliament, wrote to him a letter couched in the following mysterious terms: “My Lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care for your preservation; therefore I would advise you as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this parliament; for God and man have resolved to punish the wicked-



ness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement: but retire yourself into the country where you may expect the event in safety: for though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say they will receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This council is not to be contemned; because it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is past as soon as you have burned the letter; and I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it, to whose holy protection I commend you."

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.

This letter was received only ten days before the meeting of parliament, and although the nobleman to whom it was addressed, treated it with levity, as a frolic to deter him from attending Parliament, yet, from prudential motives, he was urged to lay it before the principal Secretary of State. And so powerful was the suggestion, that although it was seven o'clock when the letter was put into his hands, he presented it to the Earl of Salisbury that very night. The noble Secretary did not appear to attach much greater importance to the epistle, than Lord Monteagle; but observed that some expressions contained in it, reminded him of certain intimations which he had received from foreign courts, to the effect that the Roman Catholics intended to back their petition to the Parliament, in a manner, which was not expected, and, could not be refused. This seeming co-incidence

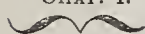
Leads to a  
suspicion,



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.



dence so far prevailed on the mind of the Secretary, that he was induced to submit the epistle to the scrutiny of the Council; who resolved, that it was of sufficient importance to be shewn to the King. But still, it did not appear to require immediate or urgent dispatch. The King was on a hunting excursion; and the document was quietly repositied in the cabinet of the Minister. The day after his return, which was the first of November, the letter was placed in his hands, with a detail of the circumstances connected with it.—The King on perusing the letter, collected from the manner and style of the composition, that the warning it contained, was not to be despised. The Secretary in order to elicit the grounds upon which the King's judgment was formed; observed, that its inconsistency proved it to be the product of folly or madness; and to shew this, directed the King's attention to the passage, "The danger is past as soon as you have burned this letter," and observed, that the warning could be of no use, if the burning of the letter would remove the danger. But the King in return, requested him to consider the phraseology of the former sentence.—"They shall receive a terrible blow this parliament, and not see who hurts them;" and, that this taken in conjunction with what he had just quoted, appeared to him to imply some sudden danger, such as might be expected from gunpowder.



The result of this conference, was an order to the Lord Chamberlain, to search the rooms and cellars connected with the two houses of Parliament. This search was not commenced till the afternoon of the fourth of November.—The Lord Chamberlain was accompanied by Lord Monteagle, who was curious to see the end of this mysterious affair. When they came to the vaults under the Houses, where the wood and coals of the conspirators were housed, they asked in a careless manner, to whom they belonged, and who the person was, who seemed to have the care of them. This person was, Guido Fawkes; who represented Piercy's servant, under the assumed name of Johnson. Their report having been made to the Council, the King was more fully confirmed in his suspicions; and it was resolved, that the vaults should be thoroughly examined. Accordingly, a commission was given to Sir Thomas Knyvett, a gentleman of the Privy Chamber and a Magistrate of Westminster; who, with a few attendants, arriving about midnight, and, only twelve hours before the meeting of Parliament, found a person of suspicious character, muffled in a large cloak, standing at the entrance of the vault. This was Guido Fawkes, ever faithful to his desperate trust, who discovered, at the very moment of his capture, his fitness for the murderous service he had undertaken: with an oath of brutal fierceness, he declared, that if he had been taken within the

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.

and to a discovery.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.



cellar, he would have set fire to the train. On his person was found a dark lantern, with every material necessary for the accomplishment of his purpose.

Every thing was now discovered. Sir Thomas Knyvett hastened to the palace and acquainted the Lord Chamberlain and the Council in waiting, with the discovery. Such was their impatient joy, that they hastened to the King's apartment and awoke him from sleep, to convey to him the joyful intelligence.

Circumstances of the discovery.

Such were the circumstances, attending the secret working and discovery of this inhuman plot. During a whole year, it had been elaborately wrought without exciting a whisper of suspicion: Never was a band of conspirators more faithful to a desperate enterprise. Never were conspirators more confident of success. Nothing was heard—nothing known, till within twelve hours of its intended perpetration. Yet it was silently and signally frustrated. Lord Monteagle, had not the most distant suspicion, when he conveyed the mysterious letter to the Secretary of State, that the two houses of Parliament were to be destroyed by gunpowder—the Earl of Salisbury himself, had no idea of such a catastrophe—the mine was prepared, but they were unconscious of their danger: the volcano was charged beneath them, and prepared for explosion, but they were secure: a sudden thought darted into the mind of the King,



and discovered the whole ! Yet it was but a conjecture ; and, he had so little confidence in it, that it was agreed, lest they should bring odium upon themselves for such a suspicion, that, if Sir Thomas Knyvett found no material of destruction under the houses, they should pretend, that the search was made after some stolen furniture of the King's. Yet the impression was strong enough, to lead to the discovery. In the first place, on the mind of Lord Monteagle, to induce him to lay the letter before the Secretary ; on the mind of the Secretary, to lay it before the Council : on the Council, to submit it to the King : on the King, to cause the houses to be examined. How little was it in the intention of the Conspirator, who wrote the letter, that it should lead to the discovery of the Plot ! Every word he used, was studied, with a design of avoiding such a result.—Yet it led to it, by a surprising chain of circumstances. O ! Thou great and overruling Power, whose purposes are inconceivably wise and benevolent, it was thy doing !—It is thine to frustrate the designs of the wicked, and to bring to light, the hidden works of darkness and death !

The perpetrators of the intended deed, themselves, attributed the discovery, to a supernatural agency. They were secure of their own fidelity. They were confident in their cause, and certain of success ; and thus, when Guido Fawkes was examined before the Council, he boldly avowed

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.

Impiety of the  
Church of  
Rome.



SECTION IV.  
 CHAP. I.

his intention ; and declared that, “ the Devil, and not God, had betrayed his good design.” But this declaration, was as much a blasphemy against God, as the conspiracy was an outrage against nature. How fearfully responsible is the system, which makes the Almighty and Blessed God, the abettor of treason, of treachery, of cruelty and murder ; and, the Devil, the patron of humanity and benevolence ! Nor yet would we involve the whole body of Roman Catholics in the guilt of this atrocious conspiracy ; nor, must the whole responsibility be considered to rest upon the immediate actors in this intended tragedy.— It was zeal for *their religion*, which engaged them in the enterprise. They sought the sanction and advice of their spiritual guides, and obtained their approval—nay, absolution was granted to them beforehand. The conspirators believed their treason to be a most pious deed, and most acceptable to God. It was not Guido Fawkes, who said ; “ It was the Devil and not God who had betrayed his good design,” but the Spirit of Romanism. A serious responsibility, no doubt, attaches to him and to his associates, but the chief evil and responsibility is attributable to the system itself.— The guilt of the transaction, must rest upon the Church of Rome. All the circumstances of the conspiracy were known and approved of, at Rome. Nay, whilst the Plot was preparing, prayers were offered up for its success, in the principal seat of



Christendom! Nor will this appear incredible, when it is considered, that Garnet, who heard the confessions of the Conspirators, encouraged and absolved them, and was executed for his treason, is reckoned, with the approval of the Church, amongst the martyrs of the society of the Jesuits. At Louvain, he was addressed in prayer: and Widdington informs us, that his bones were preserved as relics; and his image set up over altars: whilst his portrait was publicly sold at Rome, with an inscription to the effect, that he was executed for the Catholic Faith.\*

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. I.

Can a system of Religion which generates such monstrous evils, be from God? Can he who is the source of benevolence and love, be supposed to countenance such refinement in cruelty? Can Jesus Christ who came into the world, "not to destroy men's lives but to save them," be considered the author of such furious and malignant passions, and of wholesale extirpation? Can Jesus Christ, who forbade all persecution for the furtherance of his Religion, and who "died for his enemies," be supposed to acquiesce in the furtherance of a scheme, unworthy of the most brutal of men? Yet, on the ground of religion, it is sought to be justified by the adherents of Romanism. Vain attempt! even, at the bar of fallible reason, which

Guilty of  
Blasphemy.

\* Peter Henricus Garnettus, Anglus, Londini pro fide Catholica suspensus et necatus 3 Maii, 1606. *Lathbury.*



SECTION pronounces it a most glaring insult upon the  
IV. Majesty of Heaven, and a most unpardonable  
CHAP. I. blasphemy against the Son of God. For admitting every pretension of the Roman Catholic Church, put forth as the grounds of persecution—that it is the only true, infallible and authorized Church; and that there cannot, by any possibility, be salvation out of her pale—yet, supposing all this to be true—it would be contrary to reason and to the avowed principles of Christianity, to extirpate its enemies by fire and sword. Nor would such a course of policy be inconsistent only with the precepts of Christianity, but contrary to the dictates of humanity and common sense, which would teach them to prolong to the utmost extent, the lives of miserable and infatuated Heretics, who at the hour of their death, must be consigned to eternal damnation. Under such circumstances, to hurry them off the stage of life, and place them, for ever, without purgatorial remedy, beyond the boundaries of hope, is not only antichristian, but inhuman! One circumstance, connected with the subject, deserves yet to be recorded. Whilst the principal conspirators were defending themselves in a house which they had fortified, against the Sheriff of Worcester, strange to say, the house was blown up with gunpowder, by a spark which accidentally fell upon their ammunition. By the explosion their faces were so blackened and their bodies so scorched, that when the gates were open-



ed they presented a remarkable spectacle, and appeared like infernals. Catesby and Piercy were slain in the attack. The others were taken prisoners. What a striking retribution!

But we shall not enlarge further on this melancholy subject. It has little to do with the direct history of our country, except that it filled the minds of the men of that generation with horror, and induced the legislature to repress the adherents of Popery, by grievous penalties, and civil disqualifications; and, indeed, has influenced our whole political economy, from that time to a very recent date—a subject we shall not anticipate.

The second session of the first Parliament which had been destined to destruction on the fifth of November, met in perfect safety on the ninth of that month. The King, in his address, entered minutely into the circumstances of the late conspiracy, in which he evinced extraordinary moderation and temper, and discovered a mind deeply imbued with the sense of a divine interposition. A portion of his speech on this occasion, in which his great penetration and candour are eminently seen, must not be omitted; “for” added the King, “however the blind superstition of their errors in religion, has been the only motive in this desperate attempt, it must not be thought that all who profess the ROMAN religion are guilty of the same: for as it is true that no other Sect, or Heresy, no, not excepting Turk, Jew, or Pagan, or those

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.

Fifth of November, appointed a day of Thanksgiving for ever.

The King's Speech.



SECTION IV.  
 CHAP I. that worship the Devil, did ever maintain by the grounds of their religion, that it was lawful and meritorious to murder Princes or People upon the account of that; yet it is true on the other side, that many honest men blinded perhaps with some opinions of Popery,—as the Real Presence, the number of the Sacraments and some such school questions, do either not know, or not believe, all the true grounds of Popery, which is indeed the MYSTERY OF INIQUITY, and therefore, we justly confess, that many Papists, especially our forefathers, laying their only trust upon Christ and his merits, may be saved; detesting in that point, the cruelty of the Puritans that will allow no salvation to any Papist. As on the one part, many honest men, seduced with some errors of Popery, may yet remain, *so none of those who truly know and believe the whole grounds of Popery, can prove either good Christians or faithful subjects.*”

State of  
Peace.

The tempest of passion which had been excited in the minds of men by the discovery of this atrocious Plot, after the execution of the conspirators and the enacting of severe penalties against the adherents of Romanism, began to subside; and a period of tranquillity ensued, highly favourable to the culture of the peaceful arts. The “peaceful King” himself led the way. His candour, condescension, speculative reasoning and exhibition of learning on all public occasions, roused the genius of the nation, and turned the minds of men to the



study of letters. Many of the bold and adventurous, whose ardent spirits had been engaged in foreign and warlike pursuits, taking example from their Sovereign, now exercised themselves in the subtleties of dispute, and applied themselves to a practical knowledge of the Constitution, as well as to the abstract principles of Government. In short, there was a great and sudden developement of the national mind. Learning was extended: the liberal and mechanical arts were enlarged, and preparations were making, on an extensive scale, for great and fundamental changes in the commonwealth.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.

The celebrated Camden, author of the “Britannia” which searches into the origin, manners, and laws of the ancient Britons, was not less illustrious for his virtues, than his learning. Francis Bacon, Lord High Chancellor, likewise adorned this age. He was a man of universal genius—  
Men of learning.  
 a philosopher and statesman; and has been called the light of science, and the father of experimental philosophy. Shakespeare “the poet of nature” still flourished. His works are replete with wit, variety and genius. He excelled, both in the comic and tragic muse; but unfortunately, he wanted the taste and refinement, which have since been introduced into the cultivation of our language; and, his compositions are full of barbarisms and conceits, which characterized the age in which he lived. Indeed, his writings possess every defect



SECTION which can be imagined ; but his extraordinary  
 IV. genius, triumphs over every disadvantage, and  
 CHAP. I. makes him both read and admired. Ben Johnson  
 also adorned this reign ; and his works, replete with  
 learning, but with less genius than Shakespeare,  
 delighted his countrymen.

Improvement  
 in Commerce. Whilst learning flourished, the boundaries of  
 Trade and Commerce were extended. With an  
 activity befitting the character which he had as-  
 sumed as “the pacific King,” he turned his atten-  
 tion to this branch of national prosperity. He  
 enlarged the patents of the East India Company,  
 which had been granted by Queen Elizabeth, and  
 gave them a perpetual charter. The King and  
 his son Prince Henry, who had just received the  
 honor of knighthood and was the admiration of all  
 men, went to Deptford to view a ship of twelve  
 hundred tons burden, which had just been built  
 by the Company ; and which was named by the  
 Royal visitors.—“The Trade’s increase ;” whilst  
 the King completed a man of War of sixty-four  
 guns, the largest ever yet known in England.

Struggles of  
 the Reforma-  
 tion in France. Whilst England was advancing in its tranquil  
 course, and under its mild Government, every rank  
 in society enjoyed the amplest freedom and secu-  
 rity—the neighbouring kingdom of France was  
 yet convulsed with the struggles, which the  
 Church of that Kingdom was making, to free it-  
 self from the yoke of Papal domination. Its  
 Prince, Henry IV, a man of heroic courage and



enlarged views, favored the Reformation. But in SECTION  
vain. His talents and capacity for business IV.

were unequalled; and his courage invincible; but, CHAP. I.

he was unable to effect his purposes against the power of the Jesuits, who, at that time, gave law to Europe; and, he was obliged to make considerable concessions to the Roman Catholics; but this insolent Order were not satisfied; and the King was stabbed in the mouth, by one of their instruments. On which occasion he was warned,

*“That the hand of God was visible in the action; for, he had now denied his Religion but with his mouth; but let him beware of denying it with his heart, for if he did, it was feared God would strike him there also,”*—a prediction, which was soon to be fulfilled.

For, this enterprizing Monarch, with a perseverance and courage which nothing could daunt, had so far promoted the peace and unity of his kingdom, that a solemn treaty was entered into between the contending parties, known by the name of the Edict of Nantz, which granted greater privileges to the Protestants than they had ever before enjoyed. This noble-minded King, had still greater projects for his Country in view.

But his doom was fixed; and a tragedy was about to be transacted, which filled all France and

Europe with consternation. His assassination took place in the open day; and in the streets of Paris! He was returning to his palace, seated in his chariot, and surrounded by crowds of his

Assassination  
of the King of  
France.  
A. D. 1610.



SECTION admiring and applauding subjects, when the assassin Ravilliac darted upon him, and stabbed him to the heart. Like Guy Fawkes, he gloried in the horrid deed; and declared, that he did it, because the King favoured two religions in his kingdom; and that in contending with the Pope, he was fighting against God! When shall this fatal delusion be banished from the earth?

IV.

CHAP. I.

Deterioration  
of the King's  
character.

During this period, the English people, as we have remarked, were enjoying a season of profound tranquillity. But a state of repose from more various and active pursuits, is not always productive of advantage to the human mind. Under the effects of indolence it becomes relaxed; and yields itself, without a struggle, to the allurements of pleasure and the suggestions of vice. On this occasion, we perceive its deleterious effects on the mind of the King. Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, on the death of the Earl of Dorset, had become Lord Treasurer, and, with uncommon ability managed the whole business of the state; whilst the King employed his time in a succession of dissipating amusements. The disposition of the Queen greatly tended to promote the taste of the Court, for these gay and frivolous diversions, by which they contrived to waste their time, and to turn day into night. They employed their whole time as if they had been born for pleasure. Plays, interludes, masquerades, and banquettings, seem to have consumed the fleeting period of their lives.



But it was dear-bought indulgence. These incessant and intoxicating draughts of pleasure, enervated their minds; and the King, as he was eminent in station, became the most conspicuous in ruin. The vigour of his understanding was impaired—and, lost to every noble sentiment, he became the slave, not of vicious indulgence, but of weak and effeminate passions. He became the slave of favoritism.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.

A great portion of the history of this Reign is occupied in narrating the rise and fall of Robert Carr, a person whom the King had raised from an inferior situation, through every grade of title and honor to the Dukedom of Somerset. It is a long, instructive, and tragic story. After being exalted to the highest dignity, and filling every station of authority and power, he was tried and condemned for murder, and though pardoned, he died in obscurity, under circumstances of great wretchedness. But, remarkable as it may appear, none of the acts of this favorite and minister, who, at one time, engrossed all the powers of the state, has any thing to do with the history of England, except so far as his licentiousness and profligacy tended to alienate the minds of the people from their Sovereign, and to hasten the catastrophe of the reign. Nor is there a long delay. Whilst the King was engulfed in pleasure, and devoted to the society of his favorites, whom he loaded with favors and enriched with a profuseness, which

Rise and fall  
of Carr, Duke  
of Somerset.



SECTION would have ruined any treasury in Europe ; and,  
 IV. whilst the splendor and festivities of the Court  
 CHAP. I. were increased by the arrival of Frederick V.  
 Count Palatine of the Rhine, who had been contracted in marriage to the King's daughter, the Princess Elizabeth—a sudden gloom overspread the nation—the voice of the Almighty was heard—the Angel of death was commissioned—the King's eldest son was smitten, and the whole nation, at once, plunged into “lamentation, and mourning, and woe.”

Death of  
 Prince Henry.

Prince Henry, who fell at the early age of eighteen, was the hope of the nation. He was endowed with extraordinary powers of mind, possessed of high intelligence, gifted with every moral virtue, and skilled in every manly exercise. He had a soul full of noble sentiments—he was chaste, temperate, of high honor and warlike genius. At his early age, he had a greater aptitude for business, and commanded more respect than his father, and promised fair to be one of the greatest Princes that ever lived. But it was not to be. He was presented to the nation with all his blooming and princely qualities about him, and immediately taken from them, that they might learn to appreciate the extent of the divine infliction. The vices and follies and weakness of the King, were to be punished in his children ; and the Monarchy itself, was to be humbled and circumscribed ; and the first step in this great transaction



was the removal of Prince Henry, whose high and transcending qualities might have opposed an effectual barrier to the changes and disorders of the subsequent reign. Amongst many other excellent things handed down to us, respecting this Prince, one anecdote shall be recorded. One day as he was hunting the Stag, it happened that the game was killed in the chace, by a butcher's dog. The company present, endeavoured to incense him against the owner of the dog, and told him—that had his father been so interrupted, he would have sworn in such a manner, that no person could have endured it. “Away!” said the Prince, “all the diversion in the world, is not worth an oath!”

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.

At the same time, died the great ornament of the State, and the chief support of the national Counsels, the Earl of Salisbury. His capacity was equal to his high station, and he was one of those wise and prudent persons, gifted by divine Providence, for managing the most difficult and intricate affairs, connected with the civil polity of States and Empires. Who can contemplate the death of this great Statesman at this conjuncture, in such near connexion with the death of the Prince in whom was observed all the qualities of a great King, without perceiving, that the two-fold bereavement, was intended as an infliction upon the whole nation? Every day discovered convincing proofs of the folly and incapacity of those who assumed the helm of power. Robert Carr, the great

Death of the  
Earl of Salis-  
bury.



SECTION favorite, was created Earl of Rochester, and became Prime Minister. Under that profligate Statesman, every thing became venal—confusion reigned in every department—the business of the State was conducted without order ; and its policy directed by no principle of honour, morality, or religion. The consequences of such a system, as we shall see, rapidly unfolded themselves ; and the gulph appeared, upon which the vessel of the State was steering, and into which, it was about to be plunged.

IV.

CHAP. I.

But whilst these disasters were preparing for the Nation, they were in the end, to work out the most striking advantages ; and at this juncture, when the evils began to make their appearance, the Almighty Ruler, discovered the instrument or the means, by which the remedy would be effected—the source, from whence the prosperity and glory of the kingdom would be renewed, and its happiness recovered !

The Elector  
Frederick.

This was Frederick V, Prince of the Palatinate, whom we have mentioned above, as having arrived in the Country before the death of Prince Henry. By that event, his nuptials had been delayed ; but his marriage was at length solemnized with great magnificence ; and he returned to his kingdom, attended with the best wishes of the whole Nation, which seemed to be gifted with a prophetic intimation, that their Country would, one day or other, be essentially served by the descendants of that marriage.



The repose and tranquillity which the King had hitherto enjoyed, were now at an end. The profuseness and immorality of the Court, had attracted the attention of the nation, and the weakness and pusillanimity of the Government, invited opposition: and a struggle was about to commence between the King and the Parliament, which was not to cease, till the final expulsion of the Stuart dynasty! Strong and powerful reasons must have existed for such an arduous and fatal contest, which will, no doubt, be evolved, as we advance in our enquiry.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.

We have already had occasion to notice the extreme and arbitrary views which the King entertained of his Royal Prerogative. No doubt, they had been instilled into his mind, at a very early period, by those who had the care of his education. But, these tyrannical maxims of Government, were also the fault of the age. On the breaking up of the feudal Chieftainship in England, the chief power had centered in the Sovereign, and the limits of the Royal Prerogative, though well defined by the *Magna Charta*, had often been transgressed with impunity. The great principles of the Constitution had grown into obscurity; and, that rational liberty, which would secure equally, the rights of the King and the liberties of the subject, had not yet been evolved from those latent principles. This was now to be done. Everything in the character of James, facilitated the ac-

Principles of  
the Constitu-  
tion invaded.



SECTION accomplishment of this important work. His pre-

IV.

CHAP. I.

by arbitrary  
Institutions,

decessor conducted her government upon arbitrary principles, but she wielded her power with uncommon wisdom and felicity. She was exact and scrupulous in all her awards, and carried her government with a just and impartial hand. She acted as an absolute Monarch; but always for the good of her country. But she left the institutions of arbitrary power to be managed by less skilful hands. Of these, the "High Commission Court" and "the Star Chamber," were powerful instruments of tyranny; and were, of themselves, sufficient to lay the liberties of the subject, prostrate at the feet of the Prince. To the former of these courts, all Ecclesiastical causes were carried.—The lives and liberties of the Clergy were subject to its control. The Judges in this court did not proceed by information, but if necessary, on rumour and suspicion. They were both accusers and Judges. They had the power of administering an oath, by which individuals could be made to criminate themselves and their friends; and, on a refusal of taking the oath, they had the power of punishing by imprisonment. The court of the "Star Chamber," was equally arbitrary in civil affairs. These inquisitory Courts were suited to her disposition, and were managed by Elizabeth, with such dexterity and prudence, as secured them from becoming the ground of public complaint.—But James, with all his vaunting of the Royal



Prerogative, did not inherit the arbitrary disposition of Elizabeth, and he knew not how to manage these unwieldy attributes of arbitrary power. Yet, he proclaimed his intention of acting upon the maxims of his predecessors; and, not contenting himself with their silent adoption, he condescended to justify his high assumptions of kingly power, by arguments, drawn from the “divine right” of Kings; and to expound and establish his extravagant opinions before Parliament. In the mean time, the energies of the nation were awakening; and the spirit of liberty darting its penetrating glance through the mists of ages, was about to demand the restoration of its unalienable rights, whilst the Almighty Power, tempering the evils which must necessarily result from the contest of such mighty principles, watched over the struggle with an impartial balance; and, was preparing for the emancipated energies of mankind, vast tracts of knowledge and glory, which had never been traversed by the energies of the human mind. His Omnipotence could have achieved, at once, the mightiest and most beneficial changes; but this, as we have had occasion to remark, is not the conduct of the divine economy. The possibility of rapid changes in the moral history of man, is imagined on the supposition, that there exist no controlling passions in man. Were men always inclined to justice—had they no selfish views to gratify—no prejudices to foster—and no appetites

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.

are to be vindicated.



SECTION to serve—their improvement would be rapid and  
 IV. uniform. But human happiness is retarded, by  
 CHAP. 1. human depravity ; and it would be totally ruined  
 and subverted, were it not for the wise and benevolent ordination of the Great King, who, “ ordering the unruly wills and affections of sinful men,” makes them subservient to his benevolent purposes.

Parliament  
 assembled.  
 A. D. 1615

The second Parliament of James I. was assembled on the fifth of April. Great efforts had been made by the friends of the Court, to secure the return of such members, as might easily be induced to comply with the wishes of the Government. But in vain. No sooner was Parliament assembled, than the House of Commons, instead of voting supplies for the necessities of Government, commenced a searching inquiry into the state of the Nation. They inveighed strongly against the King's prodigality, animadverted upon the increase of Popish recusants, which they attributed to the admission of several of the Popish nobility, to the Councils of the King—reprobated the silencing of many respectable and laborious ministers, and expressed their dissatisfaction at the various treaties in which the King had engaged, for the marriage of his sons with the daughters of Popish Princes. These were the subjects of animadversion ; and such was the bold spirit of freedom, in which their remonstrances were framed, that the King without waiting for any supplies, or allowing them to pass a single act, dissolved the



Parliament on the seventh of June. This was easily accomplished by the force of the Royal Prerogative; but it was not so easy to dissolve the rugged breast of opposition, or allay the determined spirit of liberty which had been awakened in the minds of his subjects. On the contrary, the attempt to silence by force, the just remonstrances of the people, only aggravated the evil, and the natural dissatisfaction was increased and perpetuated.

SECTION


IV.

CHAP. I.

It is also remarkable, that, the King himself, became the instrument of increasing the formidable character of the opposition which was now developing itself. He had, by an unusual policy, discouraged the residence of the nobility and gentry in London, where they had been in the habit of spending their immense incomes in attendance on the Court, and impoverishing their families by their waste and extravagance. Whatever may have been the King's motives, whether he was afraid lest they should unite their counsels against the Government, or whether he disliked the restraint which their presence imposed upon him, he used every means to restrain them to their residences in the country; and thus laid the foundation for a new and independent power, which afterwards exercised great influence on the affairs of the state. The effect of the King's policy acted like magic. The revenues of the gentry, which had been expended in imitating the splendor and ex-

Rise of the  
Country party.



SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I.  

 travagance of the Court, confined to the more simple and less expensive habits of dignified retirement, soon accumulated into wealth. Their bond of union was also strengthened by frequent intercourse and mutual hospitality; whilst, by acts of benevolence to their neighbours and dependents, their influence became greatly enlarged and extended. This was the rise of the "Country party." Its growth was rapid, and it soon began to exercise a powerful influence on the destinies of the nation.

Rise and fall  
 of the King's  
 favorite.

Robert Carr, Duke of Somerset, had now almost run his short, profligate and splendid career, and his sun was about to set in blood and darkness; whilst its rapid decline was precipitated by the sudden rise of another favorite in the person of Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, equally as profligate and unprincipled as himself. This individual, was a younger son of Sir George Villiers of Brookesby, in Leicestershire, where the family had resided, from the Conquest. His person was handsome, and his manners accomplished. He was well skilled in every elegant and graceful accomplishment, and deeply versed in all the arts of address and gallantry, which had received their last polish in the Court of France. With such endowments it was imagined, he would be altogether captivating in the eyes of the English Monarch, who, in the words of Lord Clarendon, "of all wise men living, was most delighted with handsome persons, and fine clothes." Nor was the



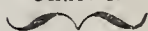
anticipation vain. Soon after his appearance at Court, he was appointed cup-bearer to the King, an office, the duties of which he discharged with such admirable grace, that, in a few weeks after his first advancement, he received the honour of Knight-hood, and was made a gentleman of the bed-chamber. Nor did the captivated Monarch rest, till every title of honour, and every emolument of place, was heaped upon his aspiring favorite. He was made Knight of the order of the Garter, and in rapid succession, created Baron, Viscount, Earl, and Marquess; and appointed Master of the Horse, and Lord High Admiral of England. Alas! it was a towering height, too suddenly raised to be permanent; and, like the rise of all bad men, whilst productive of evils to others, generally ends in destruction to themselves.

But to return. The Duke of Somerset, who had long been in the ascendant, and had the disposal of all the honors and privileges of the State, had, by his private licentiousness, which ended in treachery and murder, prepared for himself a fearful retribution; shortly after the appearance of Villiers at Court, he was tried and convicted of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury; and smitten before the rising splendor of the new favorite, he was given up by the King, imprisoned and condemned to die; and, though pardoned by the Royal clemency, he passed the rest of his life in infamy, and died in obscurity.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.





## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.

Charles I.  
created Prince  
of Wales:

A. D. 1616.

But a more remarkable and exalted personage, must now be introduced to the notice of the reader, —the high-principled, virtuous, and accomplished son of the Sovereign, who this year, with great solemnity, received the honour of Knight-hood, and was created Prince of Wales. On this occasion, the people had a transient view of their future Sovereign, on whose devoted head, were to rest the destinies of the nation. He was about seventeen years of age, of a delicate form, slender and well-proportioned. and of a most engaging appearance.—His deportment was grave—his manners, affable ; and his skill in manly exercises, as well as the more elegant accomplishments, was attended with a solidity and consistency rarely to be found in persons of his age and station.

The King's great anxiety, which in the sequel, overruled all the national councils, and had an influence over the affairs of Christendom, was to find a match for the young Prince, whose virtues and endowments had rendered him the delight of the nation. After some overtures made to the Court of France, the King, at length, fixed his determination on a daughter of the King of Spain ; at that time, the most flourishing monarchy in Europe. He could not have undertaken a more difficult task. Every political obstacle was in his way. The Spanish Armada, and all the troubles of the late reign, were still fresh in the memory of the people. They had but just escaped from



all the horrors of the Gunpowder Plot. The most stringent statutes and Acts of Parliament, were in force against the adherents of Popery; and its abettors were considered as the greatest enemies of the nation. In defiance of all these considerations, the King commenced his negociations with the Court of Spain. Gondomar, at that juncture, was the Spanish Ambassador at the English court, a man of great abilities and polished manners.—His wit and gaiety gained the Royal favour, and by flattering the weakness and vanity of the King, he gained a great ascendancy over his counsels. He urged the King, by every argument, to engage him in the pursuit of the scheme. The suit was encouraged in Spain: but every pretext was made to cause delay. The Court of Rome temporized, and delayed to grant a dispensation: in order, if possible, to gain more favorable terms, and greater toleration for the Roman Catholics in England. But difficulties and delays seemed only to increase the ardour of the King, and he laboured to render his government as lenient as possible, towards his Roman Catholic subjects.

Symptoms of dissatisfaction were discovered from every quarter, at the laxity with which the Laws were administered against the Papists; but the King's infatuation was now manifest; and every future act of his life, seemed to have a tendency to hasten the catastrophe of his reign. The dissatisfaction which had been created in his

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.

The King's  
visit to Scot-  
land.



SECTION English dominions was now extended to Scotland.

IV.

CHAP. I.



He made a royal progress into that country, chiefly for the purpose of regulating ecclesiastical matters, and restoring the ancient Government of the Church. In our history at the reign of Elizabeth, we have noticed the manner in which the Reformation was conducted in that Country, and

Spirit of the  
Scotch Reformation,

have shewn, that it was brought about by means very different from those which led to the same result in England. In the one case, it was accomplished by legal authority, without the concurrence of the common people. In Scotland, it was carried in opposition to the Civil power, by tumult and violence, aided by popular enthusiasm. The spirit of insubordination at that time, in Scotland, was increased, by the discovery of certain peculiar and atrocious attempts of the Papal adherents, in unison with the Executive power, to overthrow the nascent religious liberties of the Nation; and the resentment occasioned by the discovery, was further aggravated by the wicked and flagitious lives of the leading Ecclesiastics. The abhorrence created by such enormities in rude and untutored minds, was soon transferred from the persons of the offenders, to the offices which they enjoyed; and it is easy to perceive, that the same fervor which was prepared to abolish the additions and superstitions of Popery would overthrow its whole polity, and not leave a vestige of it remaining, if not restrained by the



civil power. In England, part of Germany, and in the Northern kingdoms, such restraint was imposed, so that the ancient Episcopal Jurisdiction, under certain limitations, has been retained. But in Scotland it was otherwise. The sovereign authority was overawed and could make no effectual resistance to the wild extravagance of the times. The popular indignation and disgust was directed and increased, by the zeal and insubordination of the Presbyters of the Church, who were roused to unite with the people from a sense of the common danger. At the head of the Presbyters was that extraordinary man, John Knox, whose character and conduct have given to the Scottish Church, its peculiarities both of doctrine and government. He had imbibed the principles which he propagated with such zeal and success, during his residence in Geneva. Zinglius and Calvin the Reformers of Switzerland, were in a measure, under the necessity of carrying on the affairs of the Church without the concurrence of their Bishops, by whom, in fact, they were deserted. The Church of Geneva, formed under the inspection of Calvin, was esteemed the most perfect model of Presbyterian Government. Knox studied and admired the system; and, on his return home, warmly recommended it to his countrymen. Nor in vain. It was admirably suited to their disposition and was adopted with ardour, and such was the astonishing effects the combined doc-

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.

led to extravagance.



SECTION IV.  
 CHAP. I.  
 and sullenness. trine, discipline, and worship, produced upon their minds, that unchecked by authority, they ran into such violent extremes as to confound all rational principles of conduct and behaviour. Their minds were absorbed in divine contemplations; and leaving the plain and practical statements of the Holy Scriptures, which are always consistent with reason and common sense, they fancied themselves the subjects of divine inspiration, and the peculiar favorites of heaven. These extravagant notions, which were fostered by the simplicity and fervor of their religious exercises, produced a sternness and inflexibility of character which was almost superhuman. And, afterwards, when this extreme agitation of the religious passions subsided, it left behind a determined obstinacy, which no reason could convince, no force overcome. "It was," to use the words of a popular\* writer, "this gloomy fanaticism which had, by degrees, infected all ranks of men, and introduced a sullen, obstinate spirit into the people, that chiefly led James to think of extending to Scotland the more moderate and cheerful religion of the Church of England."

The King's  
 great aversion  
 to Presbyterianism.

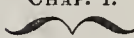
It is certain that James, while King of Scotland was obliged against his judgment, to declare in favour of the Ecclesiastical Government of that kingdom, yet he entertained a secret dislike to the whole Presbyterian system. At a very early age,

\* Russell's modern Europe. Part II. Let. II.



he experienced much trouble and anxiety, from the boldness and insolence of the Presbyterian Clergy, who, from a zeal for the glory of God, as they conceived, and for the safety and purity of the Kirk, contended “for the most tyrannical and inquisitorial powers, which they exercised with less forbearance, and with all the arrogance of a Roman Consistory.” On one occasion, when King James had granted permission to some of the Popish Nobility, who had been banished, to return to their homes, one of the Presbyterian Ministers declared from the pulpit, “that the King by this act, discovered the treachery of his own heart, that all Kings were the devil’s children, and that Satan had now the guidance of the Court”\* Another affirmed in the principal church of the Capital, “that the King was possessed of a devil, and that his subjects might lawfully rise and take the sword out of his hand.”† Such was the rash and inconsistent language of the Ministers of the Gospel, which at that time, led to serious disturbances in the city, and afterwards, increased to more serious and dreadful evils. On this occasion, the citizens of Edinburgh rose in the most tumultuous manner and surrounded the House of Session, where the King was present, and demanded some of his Counsellors whom they named “that they might tear them in pieces.” On his refusal, some cried “Bring out the wicked Haman,”

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. I.



\* Robertson, Hist. Scot. Vol. ii.

† Idem.



SECTION others shouted, "the Sword of the Lord and  
 IV. Gideon;" and James, for some time, was a pris-  
 CHAP. I. oner in the heart of his own capital, and at the  
 mercy of an enraged populace.\*

His attempt  
 to restore Epis-  
 copacy.

Soon after his accession to the English throne, he nominated Bishops to the vacant Bishopricks of Scotland, but their dignities were little more than nominal for some time. The principal object of his visit to his native country, was to gain from the Scottish Parliament an acknowledgment of his supremacy in Ecclesiastical affairs. He did not however obtain it. But in the Parliament of Perth, A. D. 1621, the revenues of the Bishops were restored, and they re-assumed their seats in Parliament: and in the assembly of Glasgow, their Ecclesiastical power was, in a great measure, re-restored. They were declared moderators in every diocesan assembly, and to have the right of ordaining and depriving of ministers, and the visiting of Kirks. The presentation to vacant benefices was placed in their hands, and, they were intrusted with the powers of excommunication and absolution. The next step was to confer upon them their peculiar Ecclesiastical character; and a commission was issued to empower three English Bishops to proceed to the consecration of the Bishops of Scotland, which, after some delay, was accomplished. Episcopacy was then in reality, established. Nothing remained but to bring about a uniformity in worship, and to impose the

\* Robertson.



Liturgy. Many consultations were held; but the King being assured that the attempt would raise a commotion in the Kingdom, wisely stopped short of an innovation, for which the people were totally unprepared, and which, in the succeeding reign, produced such unhappy results.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.

But the zeal of the King to restore the government of the Catholic Church, arose merely from a desire to establish the frame-work of Episcopacy, as more agreeable to Apostolical antiquity; and, perhaps, for the purpose of consolidating the Royal prerogative; but we are afraid, that the holiness and salvation of men, which is the sole object of the Church, entered not into his calculations. —His moral character had greatly deteriorated. He became vain, deceitful, fond of pleasure, imperious and arbitrary. He even made war upon religious duty, and issued a license to the common people, to indulge in all common pastimes on the sabbath, after evening prayers. This license was called “the Book of Sports,” as it enumerated the different pastimes which were allowed. Nothing indeed, can more forcibly display the unprincipled state of the King’s mind, than this permission to trample upon the sanctity of the sabbath, except the limitations which accompanied it. No Papist —no Puritan—none, in short, who had not attended the services of their Parish Church, were to be benefited by this indulgence. It was probably imagined, that the Church of England

The King  
not influenced  
by principle.



SECTION would be built up by such unhallowed means.—

IV.

CHAP. I.

That such an agreeable license would crowd her temples with worshippers, and attach them to her interests. Alas! when the Church has such defenders, what is to be expected but a departure from that holiness, which is the strength of the Church; and a declension from those fundamental doctrines which can alone secure its prosperity, and the favor of its divine head? The Archbishop who was then at Croydon, forbade the King's declaration to be read in that Church, in which he was followed by many of the Clergy; but, where it was read, it gave very serious offence, and was one cause of the many evils which were about to be visited on our unhappy country.

Sir Walter  
Raleigh has-  
tens his own  
ruin.

A. D. 1618.

At this time also, another event occurred which had a tendency to render the Government unpopular—the public execution of the celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh. He had been for some time released from prison, and might have lived the rest of his life in peace; but his restless and energetic mind urged him to new and desperate enterprises. He was informed by Captain Kemish, a bold leader and navigator, of a valuable gold mine on the coast of Guiana, but which had been taken possession of by the Spaniards, who had a small town on the spot, called Saint Thomas. Their design was to secure this mine. Sir Walter made such representations to the King, that he obtained a commission under the Great Seal of England, and



set out on his expedition with ten ships, well equipped, for war or peace. It was an unjust undertaking and he might have succeeded in his projects, had he not been required to acquaint the King, with the names of the coast and river, where he meant to disembark. Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, became thus fully acquainted with the whole design, and gave timely notice to the Spaniards on the coast of Guiana. In consequence, Sir Walter Raleigh, after encountering every difficulty, when he arrived at the river on which Saint Thomas was situated, met with a formidable resistance. Saint Thomas was taken, after a desperate attack by Captain Kemish and the eldest son of Sir Walter Raleigh, in which, the latter was slain. But the mine itself was fortified and defended by such superior numbers that its capture was impracticable. On the return of Captain Kemish, the whole fleet was greatly discouraged with the intelligence. Captain Kemish shot himself; and Sir Walter Raleigh was obliged by his mutinous companions, to return home.—He was re-committed to the Tower.—Gondomar, made such violent representations of this breach of peace, to the King, that he was obliged to sacrifice Raleigh to his resentment. He was tried and condemned; and the next day, met his fate on the scaffold with a noble and generous firmness. Feeling the edge of the axe, he said; “’Tis a sharp remedy, but a sure one, for all ills:” then

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.



SECTION calmly laid his head upon the block, and received  
IV. the fatal stroke.

CHAP. I.

Origin of the  
State and  
Church Puri-  
tans.

Whatever justice there might be in his sentence, his death gave general dissatisfaction, as he was universally considered a sacrifice to the court of Spain. Indeed, every thing was sacrificed to the King's desire of accomplishing the marriage of his son, with the Infanta of Spain. His whole mind was absorbed in this one subject: and on finding himself opposed by the complaints of the people, and the remonstrances of the Parliament, his most strenuous exertions were used, for the purpose of extending the royal prerogative. This was another fatal mistake, which could not fail to be productive of the most serious evils. All the opposition which he received from the nation, only served to increase his determination; and such was the intensity of his zeal, that he accounted all those as his enemies, who opposed his Prerogative; and included under the name of Puritans, all who resisted its unconstitutional exercise.—Those who opposed the doctrine of unlimited power in the Sovereign, were called *State Puritans*, and those who entertained objections to the Ecclesiastical rites and discipline, were denominated *Church Puritans*. The Church Puritans were, at that time, really few; and might have been easily propitiated: but the arbitrary policy which was now adopted, rapidly increased their number; and, uniting with those, who stood by the principles of



the Constitution, they soon formed the majority of the nation. The King, without disguise, threw all his influence into the opposite scale. The way to preferment and dignity in the Church and State, was to maintain the absolute authority of the Prince, to exclaim against the rigours of Calvinism, and to speak favorably of the Romanists. Thus were formed the two great parties in the State, which at a period not far distant, came into fearful collision with the Court, nor rested from the furious contest, till the evil was purgated and the Constitution triumphed.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.

Some great names, whose zeal in the cause of the royal prerogative, was exercised through the whole contest, were now promoted to fill the vacant Bishopricks: Buckeridge, Neile, Harsnet, and Laud. The last of these, was a man of great parts and piety; and destined to act a prominent part in scenes, which were now rapidly advancing upon the nation.

Preferments  
in the Church.

Under the sanction of the Court, and wherever the influence of the new Bishops extended, the pulpits resounded with the inculcation of arbitrary principles, unknown to the Constitution. Every thing was to be carried by blind power. But the spirit of the Constitution would not tolerate this usurpation; and the free-born spirit of our forefathers, was roused to oppose it. As might be expected, at such a crisis, the opinions entertained by both parties were extravagant. On one

Extravagant  
Statements of  
both parties.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.



side, it was maintained—that the King was not bound by the laws, nor by his coronation oath—that he was not obliged to call Parliaments to make laws, but might do without them; and that it was a great favour to admit the consent of the subject in granting subsidies.\* On the other side, it was strenuously insisted, that subordinate magistrates might lawfully make use of force and defend themselves,—the commonwealth and the true religion in the field, against the chief Magistrate, when he became a tyrant—when he forced his subjects upon blasphemy and idolatry—when any intolerable burdens were laid upon them; or, when resistance was the only expedient to secure their lives, fortunes, and liberties.† Such were the violent and extravagant statements, to which the opposing parties had recourse in the commencement of this great struggle, and which ought to have admonished the Executive against proceeding in its dangerous course, without a vigorous preparation.

Great concessions to the Romanists.

Whilst the King's policy was thus fostering the most deadly evils in the commonwealth, he still strongly pursued his negotiations with the Court of Spain; and, after many delays, the articles of the marriage were drawn up, and it was agreed, that the marriage should be solemnized in Spain, and afterwards reiterated in England.—That the

\* Sermon before the University of Oxford.

† Cowell, Vicar-General of Canterbury.



Infanta's household might be Roman Catholics ; SECTION  
 and, that a suitable place should be provided for IV.  
 public worship, according to the Church of Rome; CHAP. I.  
 that she should be attended with a competent number of Chaplains, and a Confessor ; and, that the children of the marriage, should not be compelled in matters of religion, nor their titles to the crown prejudiced by their being Catholics. Nothing was now wanting, but the dispensation of the Pope to permit a daughter of the Church, to marry a heretic ; and the hopes of the King seemed to be on the point of being realized. \* But at that moment of his exultation, the first blow was preparing by a divine Hand, which was to crush the weak and tottering fabric, that he had so industriously reared on false principles, and which he had attempted to support by unconstitutional means.

In the month of March, the Queen, who had been afflicted with a lingering dropsy, sunk under her disease in the forty-sixth year of her age.—Her death was a subject of deep concern to the King. Nor without reason ; for, she was a virtuous woman, and a dutiful wife. But she requires little notice from the historian.—She had no great qualities, and was devoted to frivolous pleasures and puerile amusements.

But a heavier blow was impending, which now suddenly advancing upon him from an unexpected quarter, plunged him into inextricable difficulties. The greater part of the European Continent had

The Queen's death.

Misfortunes of the King's Son in-law.  
 A. D. 1619.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.

long been in a state of anarchy and confusion ; and now, unexampled scenes of slaughter and bloodshed were about to be transacted, in which England was to be involved. Matthias, the Emperor of Germany, had fixed his mind upon his cousin Ferdinand, as his successor in the empire ; and, during his life, appointed him King of Bohemia. The Protestants of Bohemia were very numerous, and enjoyed complete religious freedom. By this appointment, both their civil and religious privileges were invaded. A furious civil war broke out, during which the Emperor died, and was succeeded by Ferdinand, who determined to subdue the Bohemians by force of arms. In this he was assisted by the whole power of the Spanish Monarchy, which was the principal branch of the House of Austria. All the Protestant Princes of Germany united with the Bohemians, who elected for their King, Frederick, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, and son in-law to the English Monarch. —The English nation were loud in their demands for war. People of all ranks were on fire, to engage in support of the Elector Palatine ; and to rescue their Protestant brethren from the dangers to which they were exposed. The Archbishop of Canterbury was at his post at this critical juncture, and wrote a letter to the King's Council, in which he strongly urged the necessity of a vigorous interference, and pointed out the advantages, which might result to the Protestant Faith. But the



King could not be moved. His happiness was too much involved in the success of his negotiations with the Court of Spain, to permit him to interfere. But even had he been disposed to listen to the wishes of his people, he would have been prevented by the influence of Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, whose influence over him, was even superior to that of the Duke of Buckingham. In consequence, James refused to acknowledge the title of his son-in-law as King of Bohemia, or, to send the least aid to the Confederates. The King of Spain openly espoused the quarrel, and sent an immense army, under his General Spinola. The war became a matter of concern, to the whole Christian world: but the King of England, who ought to have been foremost, as the first Protestant power, was obliged to stand neutral; and all that was supplied from our shores in this glorious struggle, was a body of volunteers, consisting of the best and noblest families in the kingdom, who abandoned by their infatuated King, jeopardized their lives for the honor of their country.

It is true, James was neither an inattentive nor unfeeling observer of these events. He was indefatigable as a peace-maker; and was most anxious to prevent the further effusion of blood, by negotiation and treaty. But whilst he was thus amused and beguiled by the Roman Catholic leaders, the combatants, on both sides, were actively engaged in making preparations for a decisive contest. The

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.

The King  
duped and  
beguiled.  
A. D. 1620.



SECTION fatal hour approached ; and the opposing forces  
 IV. were now rapidly concentrating on the city of  
 CHAP. I. Prague. The details of that dreadful conflict be-  
 long not to this history. The Bohemians were  
 defeated ; and the Elector Palatine, not only ex-  
 pelled from his newly acquired kingdom, but dri-  
 ven as a fugitive from his paternal dominions,  
 placed under the ban of the empire, and obliged,  
 with his wife and children, to seek a shelter and  
 subsistence in a foreign land.

under the in-  
 fluence of the  
 Spanish am-  
 bassador.

The misfortunes of his family seemed to rouse  
 the King to action ; and an order in Council was  
 made to promote the restoration of the Palatinate ;  
 a sum of money was dispatched to the Confede-  
 rates, to encourage them not to lay down their  
 arms ; whilst Sir Edward Villiers was sent to ne-  
 gotiate with the Emperor. But, the credulous  
 King was still beguiled, and the honor of the na-  
 tion insulted by these transactions : Gondomar was  
 supreme in his Councils—a circumstance which  
 he announces in a letter to the Duke of Lerma in  
 the following terms:—*that he had lulled King  
 James asleep, so that he hoped neither the cries of  
 his daughter nor her children, nor the repeated so-  
 licitations of his Parliament or his subjects, should  
 be able to awake him.*

Parliament  
 meets on the  
 30th January,  
 A. D. 1621.

But he was mistaken. The Parliament was at  
 hand, to avenge the wrongs of their country, and  
 to redress their own. No sooner was it assembled  
 than petitions poured in from all sides, complain-



ing of grievances and extortions of such a serious character, that the Commons were obliged to attend to them immediately; and in consequence, some of the chief instruments of these cruel and arbitrary proceedings were severely punished; among whom were Sir Giles Montessor, and Sir Francis Mitchel, the Empson and Dudley of their day. The House then made such determined and pressing representations to the King, that Lord Digby was dispatched to obtain a peremptory answer from the Emperor, relating to the Palatinate. On his return, he was commanded by the King to give an account of his journey to the House, and of the failure of his mission, and to intimate that nothing was now left but war. But though the Ministers of the Crown encouraged the Parliament to war, the House was fully convinced that there was insincerity in those professions. They were fully alive to the circumstances of his situation, and knew the affection he entertained for the Spanish alliance. They perceived the danger to which the Protestant Religion was exposed, not only in the late calamities, by which it had been oppressed in Germany, but the severities which the Protestants were made to endure in France, under Louis XIII. and they determined to try the spirit of the King, by a strong remonstrance on the state of the nation. This remonstrance was answered by an indignant letter from the King, to the Speaker of the House. The House with great calmness,

SECTION

IV.

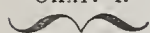
CHAP. I.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.



re-considered the grounds of their remonstrance: and, feeling assured that they were not only just and reasonable, but cogent and necessary, they followed their remonstrance with a petition, declaratory of their right to take into consideration, every thing which concerned the honor and safety of the King, the welfare of Religion, and state of the kingdom; and in conclusion, they stated, *that whereas his Majesty seemed to abridge them of the ancient privilege of Parliament, they were forced to pray his Majesty to allow it.* It is said that when the members of the House, appointed for the purpose, waited upon him with the petition, the King called for twelve chairs, saying “twelve kings are come to me;” and his reply, which was characteristic of his manner, distinctly points out the important principles which were at issue, between him and his Parliament. He said, *That their first Petition was unworthy of answer, that their giving advice about his son’s match, and urging him to a war, was intrenching upon his prerogative—that he could not allow the style calling it their ancient and undoubted inheritance; but could rather have wished, that they had said, that their privileges were derived from the grace and permission of his ancestors and himself, since most of them grew from precedents, shewing rather a toleration, than an Inheritance.*

Remarks on  
“ Divine  
Right.”

In this reply, which was in the form of a written communication to the House, the King was



historically right, but morally, and politically wrong. The rights of civil Society, had been slowly evolved from the ignorance and darkness of feudal times: and had, from time to time, been acknowledged and ratified by the sovereign power. Hence, arising as they did, from the necessities and experience of mankind, they were, generally, in conformity with right reason like the *unwritten or common Law*; which, therefore, is considered as co-incident with the Divine will. Thus these social rights, become the undoubted inheritance and birth-right of the people, with which the King had no more power to interfere, than he had to abridge the divine Law of the ten Commandments. The Rights of the People depend on the same title as the Right of Kings—on the will of the Supreme Being; and when their privileges are in conformity with reason and Revelation, they are equally held of “Divine Right.” Both the King and people are under equal obligations to exercise their privileges, within the proper limits prescribed by law. James recognized the supremacy of God, and acknowledged himself amenable to him; but, he seemed to imagine he was in the place of God to the people, and that they were solely dependent upon his grace and bounty; forgetting, that they had rights derived to them, from the same eternal source as his own, for the exercise of which, they were equally responsible; and, that both were bound to acknowledge, and act under, the SUPREMACY of LAW.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.

Resolution  
of the Com-  
mons.

The King's answer plainly convinced the Commons that their privileges were in danger. They saw, that if the absolute and independent rights of the nation, were made to depend upon the will of the Monarch, all the ancient documents which secured them, and which were deposited in the public archives, were so many rolls of waste paper, and their long cherished ideas of freedom illusory. They determined, therefore, on a bold step, and resolved to enter upon the journals of the House, a brief transcript of MAGNA CHARTA and transmit it as a solemn Protestation to their successors in Parliament. This memorable declaration deserves to be written in letters of gold, as it certainly lies at the foundation of our present liberties. It was couched in the following terms. "That the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of Parliament, are the ancient and undoubted birth-right and inheritance of the subjects of England, and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the King, State, and defence of the realm, and of the Church of England, and the maintenance and making of laws, and redress of grievances, which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects, and matter of counsel or debate in Parliament; and that in the handling and proceeding on these businesses, every member of the house of Parliament hath, and of right ought to have, *freedom of speech* to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same."



This was a noble and patriotic declaration, full of manly sentiments and constitutional principles; and, in style and manner, worthy of any assembly of any age or nation. But it ill suited the genius of the King, and was destructive of all his abstract speculations on Government, and his extreme notions on the extent of the Royal Prerogative. He took immediate alarm, and hastened to London, where, on the thirty-first of December, in a full assembly of the Council, and in the presence of the Judges, he declared the protestation null and invalid—with his own hand, tore the abhorred instrument out of the Journal book of the House, and dissolved the Parliament by proclamation. This act may be considered as the declaration of War between the Royal Prerogative and the popular rights, and, especially, as it was followed up by the arbitrary imprisonment of several of the leading Members of the Commons, whose names deserve to be recorded like their declaration, and to be had in remembrance by our latest posterity.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.

Sir Edward  
Cook, Sir Ro-  
bert Philips,  
and Mr. Selden  
imprisoned.

The King unfettered by Parliament, pursued his former unjust policy without making any preparations to support it; and more effectually, to check the Church Puritans who, by their zeal and activity, were in great favor with the people—he issued injunctions to the Archbishop to restrain the preaching of his clergy, whilst the Roman Catholics were treated with the utmost indulgence

The Archbi-  
shop remon-  
strates.



SECTION —arbitrary doctrines were propagated from the  
IV. pulpits of the Court party and the public sup-  
CHAP. I. plies were raised by the sole authority of the  
Royal Prerogative. The Archbishop who stood  
by the doctrines of the Reformation and the prin-  
ciples of the Constitution, nobly remonstrated  
against the proceedings of the Executive, and  
solemnly advised the King to return to the spirit  
of the Constitution, and to the legitimate method  
of raising money by the consent of Parliament.  
As might be expected at such a time when mode-  
ration was not a virtue, the venerable Prelate lost  
favor at Court, and a remarkable accident which  
happened to him, whilst it served to shew the  
merciful disposition and great clemency of the  
King, destroyed his influence with the Govern-  
ment. Being on a visit to Lord Zouch's and  
going out, one day, with a hunting party, whilst  
the keeper was running amongst the deer to bring  
them to "a favorable mark," the Archbishop shot  
an arrow which unfortunately pierced the unhappy  
man in the side, and killed him. The Archbishop  
who was of a meek and gentle disposition, was  
overwhelmed with grief ; he made every provision  
for the poor man's family, but he could not over-  
come the melancholy impression which it produ-  
ced upon his mind ; and, he retired to one of his  
own alms-houses at Guildford. The compassion  
of the King's nature was awakened, he sent for  
him to Lambeth, recollected not his free remon-



strances and solemn admonitions, but granted him a royal pardon and dispensation, in order that no exception might be taken as to his Episcopal character. But no consideration could induce the Archbishop to return to the Council, or, to take an active share in public affairs.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.

Disorders of  
the State.

This event also greatly facilitated the progress of events. The Council-board met with no interruption to its proceedings. Many of the Puritans discouraged at these threatening appearances, and despairing of better times, retired to the new plantations in America. Popish Recusants were enlarged—the penal laws were suspended—a great number of Jesuits flocked over as Missionaries—and the Protestant Religion was threatened with subversion. In the State, every thing became venal. The Duke of Buckingham, and his mother who was a zealous Papist, entirely ruled in the Councils of the country, and had the disposal of all places of trust and emolument; whilst Gondomar, ambassador to the King of Spain, directed the foreign policy of the nation—a proof of which will be seen in the fact, that Lord Vaux, a Roman Catholic was permitted to transport four thousand men to reinforce the armies of the King of Spain, directed against the States of Holland—where the King's banished children resided—and against their patrimony the Palatinate, which he had made such efforts to preserve! Whilst every thing being now in a favourable situation for the purpose, Lord



SECTION IV. Digby who was created Earl of Bristol, was despatched as Ambassador, to bring the treaty of marriage with Spain to a conclusion.

CHAP. I.

Buckingham  
courts the  
Prince,  
A. D. 1623.

The treaty now rapidly progressed, and it is highly probable, that by his determined perseverance, and with the aid of the Earl of Bristol, a man of great talent, industry and integrity; the King would eventually have carried his scheme, had it not been frustrated, by one of the vices of his own character—his subserviency to favoritism. The Duke of Buckingham, whose licentious profligacy was ready to avail itself of any opportunity, which might lead to his personal indulgence, or the gratification of his passions, ingratiated himself in the favor of the Prince, and represented to him the unsatisfactory method of being married by treaty; and picturing to his free and open disposition, the dazzling visions of Chivalry and Romance, he induced the Prince to unite with him in a request to the King, for permission to visit the Court of Spain, in order that he might have an opportunity of seeing and conversing with his future Queen.

Conducts him  
to Spain.

The King was taken by surprise, but on a little reflection, saw the impropriety and rashness of such an enterprise, and seemed to have resolution sufficient to prevent its execution. But he was overcome by their importunities, and in granting permission, shewed the weakness of his nature—the evil genius, which counteracted and rendered void all the better qualities of his mind. The



folly and rashness of the whole proceeding was as forcibly expressed by the King's fool on the occasion of their departure, as in the whole account of it by the Earl of Clarendon. The fool respectfully approaching the King, placed his cap upon his head. The King asking him the reason, he answered: because he had sent the Prince into Spain. But says his Majesty, "what if he should come back safe?" "Why, then," says Archy: "I will take my cap off from your head, and put it on the King of Spain's."

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.

The two adventurers lost not a moment, but, immediately on obtaining permission, set out with two attendants. On their way through France, they delayed one day, to view the grandeur of the city, and the splendor of that voluptuous court; and it was on the evening of that day, that the Prince and his companion were admitted incognito, to a private dancing masque in the Palace, where they had an opportunity of viewing to advantage, all the distinguished ladies of the French Court; and amongst the rest, the Prince saw and admired his future Queen! This was the King's sister, Henrietta Maria, a Princess of great beauty and many accomplishments; and who was destined to exercise great influence over the Councils of our country, during a troublous period of its history! No further delay of consequence occurred, and the royal party arrived safely in Spain

A striking  
circumstance.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.

Generous conduct of the Spaniards.

Nothing could exceed the joy with which the Prince was received in Spain. The whole people was moved as the heart of one man, and his marriage with the Infanta was carried by universal acclamation. It was desired by the King in Council, that he should enter the Royal Palace, in the same state as the Kings of Spain after their Coronation. A guard of honour was appointed to attend upon him. A general Pardon was proclaimed, and the prisons thrown open. The Queen welcomed him with magnificent presents; and King Philip IV. "one of the most magnificent Monarchs that ever sat upon the Spanish throne," presented him with a golden key, which would unlock all the doors of his private apartments; into which the Prince might, without interruption, have access at all times. His gallant conduct and generous confidence, approved itself to the manners of the Spanish people; and his grave deportment and modest reserve suited the genius of that nation. He was universally admired and loved, and every effort was made by all ranks of people, to secure his esteem and regard for their country. The Ecclesiastics, induced by the openness and candor of his disposition, sedulously laboured to attach him to their religion. Even the Pope himself condescended to write to him, for the purpose of effecting such "a glorious conversion." But the Prince was unmoved either by their flattery, or their arguments; and stood firm



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.

to the principles of his religion, which he defended with great knowledge and ability; and afforded at that early age, a bright example of moderation, candour, and firmness. Nothing could resist the impression which his conduct made on the minds of all men; and the long promised dispensation from the Pope, at length arrived. The articles of the marriage were sworn to by the King, the Prince and the Privy Council. The Infanta was called the Princess of England—a Chapel was building for her in England, and a fleet was prepared for her convoy. All opposition in England ceased, and the marriage seemed to be inevitable. But it was not to take place. The Pope who granted the dispensation died; which of necessity caused new delays, and the Duke of Buckingham, who had rendered himself odious to the whole Court of Spain, by his pride and licentiousness, took occasion from this interruption, to shew his resentment, and ruin the whole project. By false and exaggerated statements, he obtained a letter from James to command their return. The Prince obeyed, and took a solemn and affectionate farewell of the King of Spain and the Infanta. No doubt, the Prince felt some indignation at the delays which had occurred, and especially the disappointment of returning without his bride: but there is no reason to think that he had the most distant idea of dissolving his engagement with the Infanta, for whom he had always expressed the

Buckingham  
breaks off the  
match.



SECTION warmest attachment. Such however were the re-  
 IV. presentations of the Duke of Buckingham, that  
 CHAP. I. he was seduced from the path of honor, and he  
 determined, in conjunction with the Duke, to break  
 off the treaty with Spain.

Their return  
 hailed by the  
 people

They landed at Portsmouth, on the fifth of  
 October, and never was the heir to a throne re-  
 ceived with such transport by an admiring nation,  
 as the Prince was, on his return. The national  
 joy was spontaneous and unbounded; and without  
 any edict, thanksgivings were offered up for his  
 safe return. The King was at Royston, where  
 they waited upon him. It was a heavy blow to  
 him, when he heard them recount in the most  
 exaggerated terms, the delays and vexatious inter-  
 ruptions which they had experienced and the entire  
 failure of the negotiation; which they attributed  
 to the insincerity and duplicity of the Spaniards,  
 while the Duke severely reflected upon the con-  
 duct of the Earl of Bristol, whom the King knew  
 to be a most faithful servant. The rumour of  
 these things quickly spread through the kingdom  
 and gave general satisfaction. The Prince and  
 the Duke stood high, at this moment, in the pub-  
 lic estimation!

Sincerity of  
 the Spaniards.

Whilst Charles and Buckingham were employ-  
 ed in seeking pretences which might give some  
 appearance of justice to their intended breach of  
 treaty, the dispensation from the new Pope arrived  
 in Spain. On this occasion, every demonstration



of joy was manifested by the people. Bonfires were lighted in every city, and town, and village of the kingdom. The day after, the marriage was fixed. Preparations were made on such a magnificent scale as Spain had never witnessed. The Infanta's household was arranged—her dowry of two millions of money prepared, and her voyage to England determined: when behold! the marriage proxy was countermanded from England, and at one blow, a treaty broken off, which, for seven years, had been the chief object of the King's sollicitude; and that too, at the very moment, when it seemed certain of accomplishment; and with it, the restoration of the Palatinate, which the Court of Spain always considered as included in the treaty.

A Parliament was now called, and the Duke, who had fully ingratiated himself with the Prince, perceived that nothing could save him from the resentment of the King, but establishing his character with Parliament. In this he succeeded to the utmost of his wishes; and such was his power and influence with the two houses, that he determined upon the ruin of the Earl of Bristol, who had already received instructions to return home. In the mean time, he made use of his popularity to obtain an impeachment against the Earl of Middlesex, the Lord High Treasurer, a man of great abilities, whose high qualities and independence marked him out for ruin. The King was highly displeased at these proceedings,

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.

Intrigues of  
Buckingham,  
A. D. 1624.



SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.



and only awaited the return of the Earl of Bristol upon whose fidelity he could rely, to humble his audacious favorite. In the mean time, he pointed out to them the evil consequences likely to result from such measures and told the Duke, *that in this fit of popularity he was preparing a rod for his own back*; and, turning to the Prince, he prophetically said: *that after his death he would have a surfeit of Parliamentary impeachments, and would remember, to his sorrow, how much he had contributed to weaken the power of the Crown by his late conduct.*" But to no avail: the House of Commons were encouraged by all the influence of the Prince and the Duke of Buckingham, and supported by the wishes of the nation. The treaty with Spain was annulled—large supplies granted, and war declared against both the Emperor and the King of Spain.

Earl of Bristol  
not imprisoned.

On the arrival of the Earl of Bristol, such was the influence of the Duke, that the King who was unworthy of such a servant was obliged to yield, and he was committed to the Tower. This nobleman had left the Spanish Court with great reputation, and his conduct deserves to be recorded as an honor to his country. When the Earl was preparing to leave Spain, the Spanish King, who was fully acquainted with his high integrity and unshaken fidelity to his master, entreated him to fix his residence at Madrid, where he should enjoy all the advantages of rank and fortune,



rather than expose himself to the inveterate malice of Buckingham. Bristol expressed his gratitude for the princely offer, but at the same time, shewed the King that it was necessary for him to decline it. "Nothing" he said "would aid more effectually to establish the injurious reports of his calumniators than remaining at Madrid; and that the highest dignity in the Spanish monarchy would be but a poor compensation for the loss of that honor, which would be endangered by such exaltation." Philip was charmed with this answer and begged him, so far to submit to his desire to serve him, as to accept a present of ten thousand ducats, assuring him, that his acceptance of it should for ever remain a secret, and should never come to the ears of his master. Bristol's answer was truly magnanimous. "There is one person" he replied "who must necessarily know it; he is the Earl of Bristol, who will certainly reveal it to the King of England."

In vain did this heroic nobleman demand an opportunity of justifying himself, and laying his whole conduct before Parliament. He was, after a short time, released from confinement, but strictly ordered to retire to his country seat, and to abstain from all appearance in Parliament.

The affairs of the State were now in great perplexity, and the King's fatal policy was working out for him a fearful retribution. The growth of Popery during this period was extraordinary, and

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.

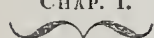
His high  
character.

The King  
makes a solemn  
Promise



SECTION in spite of all the disadvantages under which it  
 IV. laboured, it was found by Parliament that more

CHAP. I.



than sixty places of power and emolument were in the hands of its professors. The country swarmed with Jesuits and seminary Priests, and such was felt to be the critical state of affairs, that the House of Lords was roused to unite with the Commons, in a formal petition to the King to put the Laws into execution ; and to bind him by his Royal word, that in all future treaties of marriage for his Son, he would not stipulate to relax the execution of the laws against Roman Catholics. It required all his “ King craft ” and political dissimulation to meet the occasion ; but he gave them a solemn assurance that he never had intended a toleration of Popery ; and that he never would endanger Protestantism, by attempting to relax the Laws against Papists.

which he  
 breaks.

But alas ! the dissimulation of the King was soon to be made manifest : for, instead of attending to the wishes of his Parliament, or observing the solemn promise which he had made to them, he entered, immediately, into a negotiation with France for the marriage of Henrietta Maria, sister to Lewis XIII, with his son Charles. Nor did he pay the least attention to his solemn promise, but made even greater concessions to the Romanists, then he had done in his treaty with the Court of Spain. And further to shew his disregard of the wishes of his people, he received the Arch-



bishop of Ambrun, who had been sent to England in disguise, with every token of respect and confidence. He held frequent conferences with this Prelate, who was a person of great ability and experience, and if we could believe the French authors who have written on that subject, the King declared himself fully inclined to a reconciliation with the Church of Rome. But this must be false: Every action of his life—every word of his mouth clearly shew that it would have been impossible for James ever to have become a Papist. Every thing shews that the King was fully acquainted with the merits of the question between the two churches. He acknowledged that the Church of Rome had been a true Church at the very beginning of Christianity; and, that the Bishop of Rome enjoyed great privileges and held a *Primary* in rank, at a very early period. But no person knew better, the errors of the Church of Rome and its departure from the Apostolic doctrine; and no person more strenuously denied the *supremacy* of the Pope, or would more pertinaciously have resisted its application. The King's conviction on these subjects was so perfect, that it was morally impossible that he could ever have been induced to act in opposition to it. At the same time, it is certain, that he made great concessions to the Archbishop. He released many of the Roman Catholics who had been imprisoned for recusancy, and all the penal Statutes against

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.

The King never favored Popery, as Popery.



SECTION them were again suspended. Nay, such was the

IV. Archbishop's influence, that he obtained permis-

CHAP. 1.

sion to hold a confirmation at the French Ambassador's Chapel, where that rite was administered

His real views to ten thousand Roman Catholics, in the presence of a great concourse of spectators; and it is not improbable, that he discoursed with him, as the French writers assert, on his intention of calling a convention to settle religious differences, and to lay a foundation for a general toleration. Of this we have no reason to doubt, because it was his favorite project, in which he shewed the superiority of his mind; but he no less discovered his weakness in thinking it practicable.

built on a  
visionary spe-  
culation.

We cannot but regret, that he was not allowed to try the scheme, which he considered a remedy, for many of the evils with which his throne was surrounded. Is it not evident, that the Pope would not authorise the lawfulness of any convention, in which the infallibility of the Church and his Supremacy were not acknowledged? But to acknowledge these, would be destruction to the principles of Protestantism. All hope, therefore, of any reconciliation with the Church of Rome is a chimera: but, chimera as it is, the speculative mind of James, aided by his compassionate heart, thought it not impossible; and it is evident to every attentive reader of history, that he steadily kept this object in view throughout his whole reign. Indeed, it is the knowledge of this fact,



that can alone account for his conduct towards the professors of that religion. His writings, as well as public speeches declare, that he held their principles in abhorrence; that he considered them idolatrous in worship, and apostate in doctrine—yet he did not despair of recovering them by reason and argument. They rebelled against him: they conspired to take away his life, yet he forgave them. He endeavoured to palliate their crime in Parliament, and render them less odious to their countrymen; and it is impossible not to admire the amiable, though mistaken policy of the King. What did he accomplish? Let the state of things at the conclusion of his reign, and the transactions of the succeeding reign, answer that question. To the very last, he placed this mistaken confidence in Popery. Although deluded and dishonoured, flattered and despised, he still fostered the generous hope of reconciling them. The treaty of marriage between his son and the Princess Henrietta of France, was hastened to a conclusion, with a precipitation which is remarkable; as if it was determined by Heaven, he should behold with his eyes an alliance, which was destined to involve his family in disgrace and ruin, and to bring his dynasty to an end—a fact which has been remarked by the author of the life of Cardinal Richlieu, who must be regarded as an unprejudiced witness:—"As this match," he observes, "was against all the maxims of good policy, so it drew

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.



SECTION upon his son, King Charles, all those mischiefs  
 IV. which, perhaps, never befel any King succeeding  
 CHAP. I. to an hereditary Crown : and his sons born of that  
 marriage, and seduced, by their Mother's per-  
 suasions, have been most unfortunate since his  
 death."

Circumstan-  
 ces attending  
 the King's  
 death.

A. D. 1625.

But we must not enlarge. The die was now  
 cast. The days of the King were numbered, and  
 the scene hastens to its close. The voice of the  
 nation prevailed over the backwardness of the  
 Monarch, and an army of twelve thousand men,  
 was dispatched under the Count Mansfeldt, to the  
 relief of the Palatinate. But through the treach-  
 ery of the French, the expedition never reached  
 its destination. The Government of that kingdom  
 had promised a free passage through their territo-  
 ries ; but their promise was so long delayed, that  
 the troops cooped up in their crowded vessels were  
 visited with pestilence. The contagion was so  
 fatal, that only one third of the men landed on the  
 coast of Holland ; and this miserable remnant,  
 was so wasted with sickness and desertion that  
 not a vestige of the armament was left behind.—  
 Such a disastrous result—such an extermination,  
 was a signal mark of the divine displeasure. The  
 Palatinate was, at a future period, to be recovered,  
 and to become the source of English prosperity and  
 glory : but not to him or his son, who, at that time,  
 was doomed "to drink the dregs of the cup of  
 trembling and wring them out." His own tardy



and reluctant help, which came not at the proper season, was now offered too late; and his army, like that of Sennacherib's, fell before the Angel of Jehovah. Nay, the fatal commission extended to himself, and the King was smitten with death. He was seized whilst in his palace at Whitehall, with the ague, which daily increasing, he retired to Theobald's, attended by his faithful servant, Bishop Williams, the Lord Keeper, who continued his attendance till midnight, and, perceiving little hope of recovery, he acquainted the Prince. The next morning, he entered the King's apartment to acquaint him with his approaching dissolution, and kneeling down said; *he knew he should neither displease nor discourage him, if he brought him the message of Isaiah to Hezekiah, "to set his house in order," for he concluded that his days would be but few.* To which the King answered: *I am satisfied, and I desire you to assist me in preparing to go hence and to be with Christ, whose mercy I earnestly pray for, and hope to find.* He desired the Prince to be summoned to his bedside; and, amongst many wise precepts which he offered for his future consideration and conduct—he emphatically admonished him—*To love his intended wife, but not her religion!*

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. I.

Advice to his  
Son.

He now dismissed all cares of the world; and the remaining period of his life was devoted to reading and prayer, in which he was attended by Bishop Williams, who never left his royal master, nor

His Last  
hours.



SECTION undressed himself, till after his death. On Wednesday, the time was more particularly devoted to solemn discourses on repentance and remission of sins—of the Resurrection and eternal life; which was followed, on the Thursday, by the administration of the Holy Sacrament, in which the King participated with great devotion; and, as it is stated, by those who were present, with “singular comfort.” After this he grew sensibly weaker and languished through the two succeeding days, during which time it is said, it was necessary for the Lord Keeper to interfere, with his authority, to repel the Romanists who were watching around the chamber of the dying Monarch. On Sunday morning, March, twenty-seventh, he expired in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign, leaving the affairs of his kingdom, in a most perplexed and unsettled condition.

We have seen with what high pretensions of title, reputation, and learning, James ascended the English Throne. His actions are now before us; and we are enabled to judge with accuracy of his real character, as it has been evolved by the actions of his life. The judgment of posterity is unfavorable to his memory. He certainly possessed great attainments and extensive learning; but he wanted that solidity of judgment, which was necessary to turn them to good account. Hence, his superior abilities were used for the purpose of ostentation and display—which rendered him open



to the pernicious influence of flattery. His personal gratification made him lose sight of the dignity of the Monarch; and, on this principle, he exposed himself to all the evils of *favoritism*. His moral qualities, like his intellectual endowments, were of the highest order; but they lost their character for want of consistency. Though he was not vicious, his virtues became vices, for want of regard to a fixed principle of virtue. His friendship degenerated into familiarity—his wit, which was enriched with the stores of learning, into ribaldry—his generosity, into profuseness—his wisdom, into pedantry—his compassion, into weakness—his foresight, into dissimulation; and his love of peace, into pusillanimity. He had no true notions of Religion, for, he had no integrity of conduct. He was Calvinistic in his views of Christian doctrine, and Episcopalian in his notions of Church government; but he afforded no evidence of his being a Christian INDEED. He promoted the translation of the Bible—but his life was not regulated by its Divine precepts. He defended the Church, but he did not adorn it, by fulfilling the vows of his baptism. His actions were not guided by Christian principle, nor directed to any great end.—His own selfish gratification was the foundation of his policy, and the Pole-star of his course.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.

Never was a mind endowed with such solid advantages, so greatly deteriorated by the circum-



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. 1.

stances of situation. With such endowments, his name might have been gloriously enrolled in the annals of his country. His memory might have left a sweet fragrance behind, grateful to his surviving subjects, and salutary to succeeding generations. But with such a capacity for doing good, what evils did he not bring upon his family, and his country ! He was not insensible to the evils which surrounded him. He saw the danger which threatened the monarchy, from the inroad of popular aggression, and he pursued that line of policy which he thought best adapted, to check the evils which he apprehended. He thought to stem the spirit of freedom by the bulwarks of power—but in vain :—It was an unrighteous attempt in the sight of Him, “by whom Kings rule and Princes decree righteousness ;” and the resistless torrent of public opinion was permitted, for a season, to overflow, and carry away with it, every vestige of the monarchy and of legitimate government. The policy of the King was dictated by the principle of selfishness, without reference to the will of the Searcher of Hearts, who demands of all his creatures, whether kings or people, a steady uprightness and integrity of purpose, founded on the unalterable principles of Justice and Charity. But neglecting this high and lofty position, he had recourse to subterfuge, dissimulation and stratagem ; and endeavoured to strengthen himself by alliances foreign to the happiness and interests of his



kingdom. But in vain did he attempt to fortify himself by *wicked* counsels.—Every thing he purposed, failed of its intention, and wrought out for him a fearful retribution; so that, on this unfortunate Prince, might seem to have been laid the “Burden of Damascus,” recorded in the sublime Prophecy of Isaiah. “Because thou hast forgotten the God of thy Salvation, and hast not been mindful of the Rock of thy strength, therefore thou shalt plant pleasant plants, and shall set it with strange ships: In the day thou shalt make thy plant to grow, and, in the morning shalt thou make thy seed to flourish; but the HARVEST shall be a HEAP, in the DAY OF GRIEF AND DESPERATE SORROW.” \*

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. I.

\* Isaiah, xvii. 10.



## CHAPTER II.

---

CHARLES I.—ARBITRARY POLICY OF THE EXECUTIVE—  
INVASION OF THE CONSTITUTION BY PARLIAMENT  
—CIVIL WAR AND SUBVERSION OF THE MONARCHY.

---

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.  
Charles I.  
A. D. 1625.  
State of the  
nation.

SUCH, was the critical and alarming situation of affairs on the accession of Charles I. to the throne of his father, whose fatal policy had laid the foundation of a struggle, between the arbitrary principle and the spirit of freedom inherent in the constitution, and which rendered a rupture between the Sovereign and the people, inevitable. This is the grand object which is now before us, and which rapidly progressed when the reins of government were seized by a young and vigorous hand, urged on by the counsels of a rash and unprincipled minister in the person of the Duke of Buckingham. It was evident, that under such circumstances, the State must soon be hurried either within the barriers of despotism, or, plunged into the gulf of confusion and anarchy.



The awful and monitory page must now be unfolded; and, from the calamities of the past, may we learn wisdom for the future! The adherents of Popery had rapidly increased during the last reign, and at the death of James, were rampant for power; pursuing their designs with all subtlety and perseverance. The Puritan Clergy had greatly augmented their numbers and influence, and were in great credit and esteem with all ranks of people; whilst that portion of the Clergy, who adhered to the arbitrary principles of the Sovereign, were in equal discredit, and considered the enemies of their country; in addition to which, the constitutional part of the nation, under the name of "State Puritans," and with whom, the "Church Puritans" coalesced, now formed a majority of the kingdom. Both these latter parties, by the arbitrary policy adopted by the government in Church and State, had been driven into the opposite extremes. The one verged to *Presbyterianism*—the other to *Republicanism*.

Notwithstanding these deep seated evils, which were secretly and infallibly working some great catastrophe in the State—the appearance of things at the commencement of the reign, was highly flattering. Just as, when nature is preparing, in her subterraneous caverns, some grand explosion, the appearance of the heavens may be clear and unruffled, affording no intimation of the event; so, on the accession of Charles, every thing bore the

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.



SECTION appearance of tranquillity and continued happiness,  
 IV. and his Coronation was solemnized with universal  
 CHAP. II. demonstrations of joy. He had not only gained  
 popularity by his conduct, during the late Parlia-

Character of ment, but he had always been a great favorite  
 the King with the nation, and not without just reason. He  
 was in the twenty-fifth year of his age, of a fine  
 and commanding form, of grave and modest de-  
 portment, and of eminent proficiency in learning.  
 He was free from all vices and licentious excesses  
 —religious, chaste, and temperate. He was per-  
 fect in vaulting, and all other manly and martial  
 exercises; and was accounted the best marksman,  
 and most expert manager of the horse, of any per-  
 son in the three kingdoms.

Such was the Sovereign who now ascended the  
 English throne: endowed with every qualification  
 which could adorn the man, or distinguish the  
 Monarch; as if Heaven determined, by the inno-  
 cence and splendor of the victim, to shew its ab-  
 horrence of the character and conduct of his father,  
 and to demonstrate to all future generations, the  
 madness of fanatic zeal and popular licentiousness.

His marriage. After the obsequies of the late King, in which  
 Charles dispensed with the usual forms of eti-  
 quette, and acted as chief mourner, his marriage  
 with the sister of the King of France, was solem-  
 nised with great magnificence. The Queen her-  
 self was in the bloom of youth, and adorned with  
 every grace, which could render her attractive in



the eyes of her husband. She had great beauty and vivacity ; and possessed a lively wit and heroic spirit—but there was one root of bitterness—her religion—which was the bane of her own and her husband's happiness, and the foundation of innumerable calamities to the nation, which had adopted her.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Doctor Abbot, who, in the last reign, had been an active Counsellor ; and had, with great fidelity, resisted the arbitrary policy of the court, was now on the decline. He had been a celebrated preacher, and was a person of eminent piety and unbounded hospitality ; laborious and zealous in the discharge of his high duties, moderate in his political and religious views : in high repute with the nobility and gentry, and a decided favourer of the puritanical Clergy, who, alarmed at the advance of Popery, and oppressed by the rigorous and arbitrary measures of the Government, were fast verging, as we have hinted to the principles of Presbyterianism.

Williams, the Bishop of Lincoln, a person of towering genius, and of an aspiring temper, was still Lord High Chancellor. He was admirably fitted for his high station, as well by the superiority of his natural endowments, as by his extensive learning and political sagacity. He was uncorrupt in morals, and patriotic in purpose. His beneficence and generosity were princely. His manners were bland and insinuating. His mode-

Williams,  
Bishop of  
Lincoln.



SECTION IV. CHAP. II. ration was just, and averse to the extreme arbitrary policy of the court party. He endeavoured to temper the views of the contending parties and to bring them to an amicable understanding. But his genius, and skill, and perseverance were in vain: there were other master-spirits at work, which scorned the maxims of experience, and set at nought the lessons of prudence and moderation.

Laud, Bishop  
of St. David's.

Doctor William Laud, was now Bishop of Saint David's; an eminence to which his own abilities, seconded by the favour of the Duke of Buckingham, had elevated him. He was a man of a generous and ardent disposition—of an elevated and heroic temper. He was possessed of solid learning and unquestionable integrity—but without that practical knowledge of men and things, which could have enabled him, successfully to struggle with the difficulties of the times. His zeal for the honor of God and the unity and strict discipline of the Church, was bold and uncompromising. He placed himself in the fore-front of the battle; and, with unshaken resolution, determined to oppose the latitudinarian views of the Archbishop and the Puritan divines. In order to accomplish this, he adhered to the arbitrary policy of the late reign; and maintained extreme views of ancient ecclesiastical polity, totally at variance with the genius of the times, and to avoid the error into which he saw the country hastening, he pursued the opposite extreme, and carried his ob-



servances within the pale of superstition. His maxim was, "There is no end of yielding:" and, he carried his plans with an inflexibility, which amounted to obstinacy. The consciousness of his rectitude, led him to disdain all conciliatory measures. His zeal was without caution—his wisdom without prudence. In short, to use the words of Lord Clarendon, he sought the accomplishment of his wishes, "without the least condescension to the acts and stratagems of the Court, and without any other friendship or support, than what the splendor of a pious life, and his unpolished integrity would reconcile to him;" and to sum up this review of his character, it will only be necessary to add what Judge Whitlock, who was not only a contemporary, but a fine and accurate discerner of the motives and actions of men, used to say—*that he was too full of fire though a just and a good man; and, that his want of experience in state matters, and his too much zeal and heat for the Church, if he proceeded in the way he was in, would set the nation on fire.*

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

The fatal tragedy now opens. The temporary popularity which Charles and the Duke of Buckingham had enjoyed, for breaking off the Spanish match, threw them off their guard; and the King entered upon the government with the most implicit confidence in Parliament. Contrary to the prudent advice of the Lord High Chancellor, the writs were immediately issued, before the friends

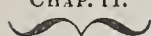
Confidence  
of the King  
abused.



SECTION and servants of the King could have time to secure their interests in the elections. But the

IV.

CHAP. II.



King would brook no delay; and confident in his own integrity and the love of his subjects, he rejected all interference with the election of the members, and on the meeting of Parliament, he would not allow his Ministers to mention the amount of subsidies required to carry on the war, which had been engaged in through their own solicitations, but left himself in their hands, and, threw himself upon the generosity of the House.

Arbitrary  
conduct of the  
Commons.

But his confidence was misplaced. Instead of entering upon the business of the Session, and granting liberal supplies for supporting the dignity of the crown and the honor of the country, in the important contest in which it had embarked, they proceeded to endless debates on topics of popular interest; and petitioned the King on the state of Religion and the increase of Popery. We might have esteemed their determination to enquire into grievances, at the commencement of a new reign, both prudent and patriotic, had it not been for two circumstances, which shewed that a consciousness of their power had rendered them arbitrary and tyrannical. They summoned to the bar of the House, two Clergymen; one, to answer for a book which he had published, in which it was considered he had made some important concessions to Popery; and another, for maintaining in a sermon before the King, extravagant opinions of the Royal



Prerogative. These individuals were severely reprimanded, and without reference to any other tribunal, fined to a great amount.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

Impolicy of  
the King.

This petty and *unconstitutional* warfare arose, in a great measure, from the temper of the times, and the ill-defined authority of the House of Commons; and ought to have been met by an insinuating remedial policy. This was the advice of the Lord Chancellor Williams: but the Court stood on its high pretensions, and shewed their contempt of the House of Commons, by raising the obnoxious individuals to the Bench. There was also another subject, which was entirely in their own power, and which discovered that the Commons were actuated by factious and selfish principles—without the least provocation, and after receiving from the King the most conciliating answer to their Petition, as if in mockery of his wants, they granted supplies which were utterly inadequate to the necessities of the State.

The Plague now raging in London, it became necessary that the Parliament should be adjourned; but the King, hoping to obtain further supplies, proposed to adjourn the Session to Oxford. The Lord Chancellor Williams, with his usual wisdom, endeavoured to prevent it. He had secret information that complaints were prepared against the Duke of Buckingham; and his judgment told him, it was unlikely that the Commons would vote supplies twice in one Session. But his

Advice of  
Bishop Wil-  
liams rejected.



SECTION IV. counsel was overruled, and his fall determined, by the Duke.

CHAP. II.

The Commons proceed to accuse the Duke of Buckingham,

The Parliament met at Oxford, and every thing fell out as the Chancellor had predicted. As soon as they were assembled, regardless of the welfare of their Country, they entered upon topics connected with controversial divinity; and appointed a Committee of Religion. Mr. Montague, was again summoned, and his book ordered to be examined. His cause was warmly recommended by the Bishops, to the Duke of Buckingham, who justly insisted, that all differences in the Church, ought to be decided in an Ecclesiastical assembly, and was the privilege of Convocation. But to no purpose. The Commons conscious of their power in holding the supplies, loudly complained of the public management; and, most of all, of the unbounded power and mal-administration of the Duke himself. The Duke was indignant; and the Lord Chancellor again ventured to administer faithful and wholesome counsel; and advised the Duke to meet the storm with mild and conciliatory measures; using this remarkable expression, *that no wise man would think of being angry with the People of England*. But the Duke was too high and towering to listen to the well directed advice, and retired with displeasure.

and insult the King.

To all the Petitions of the Commons, the King returned the most gracious and prudent answers; notwithstanding, they ended their debates by a



short declaration, in which they thanked him for his gracious answer concerning religion—assured him of their true and hearty affections, and declared their loyal intention to *serve him in due time*, and in a Parliamentary way.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

This was really a solemn mockery, and was highly resented by the Court, which was then at Woodstock; and it was resolved that the Parliament should be dissolved. When the Lord Chancellor heard of this resolution, he saw the impolicy of such a hasty step, and hastened, if possible, to prevent it. He used every argument to dissuade the King from such a step.—It is said, that he mingled tears with his supplications; but, his counsel was again rejected, through the influence of the mighty Duke; the Parliament was summarily dissolved, and the fatal strife perpetuated.

Summarily  
dissolved.

The result of this contest was to be of the greatest possible advantage to the community. The arbitrary exercise of the Sovereign power was to receive a severe check, and the constitutional liberties of the nation secured by the PETITION OF RIGHT; only second, among our national documents to the MAGNA CHARTA itself. It is one of those events in History, at the completion of which we are astonished. It was brought about without design. The chief actors themselves, whilst in a great measure, they pursued their own selfish purposes, were made the instruments of a good which they could not have anticipated. And whilst it

The "Peti-  
tion of Right."



SECTION discovers to us the benevolence of an overruling  
 IV. Providence, it establishes the fact, that whilst the  
 CHAP. II. antagonist principles of government are restrained  
 within their proper boundaries, the struggle carried on between them, however violent, may be expected to be beneficial.

Character of Sir John Elliot. Sir John Elliot, a gentleman of Cornwall, was the great instrument in promoting the violent proceedings of Parliament, which we have already related; and, indeed, through the whole of this first struggle, which comprised a period of little more than four years, he was one of the chief actors; and in order to attain his purpose he sacrificed all his powers, and eventually his life itself. He possessed considerable parts and great energy of character; but he was a man of violent and outrageous passions. In his early life, he had travelled in company with the Duke of Buckingham, and on his advancement, he became his obsequious flatterer; but an extraordinary incident produced a violent change in his conduct, and induced him to become the bitter and irreconcilable enemy of his friend and patron. It happened on some occasion, that Sir John Elliot received a slight insult from a gentleman of high respectability in his own parish, for which he entertained a deep revenge, and even attempted his assassination. After the commission of the atrocious act, he hastened to the Duke of Buckingham, in order, through his interest, to secure his pardon: but he was somewhat mistaken



in his confidence. The Duke insisted upon a large pecuniary fine, as a ransom. After the fine was paid, it appeared that he had not dispatched his victim, who recovered. Guilty as he was, he applied for the restoration of his money, which could not be granted. From that moment, he entertained a violent prejudice against the Duke of Buckingham, and pursued him with unrelenting hatred to the day of his death.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

Notwithstanding the insufficiency of the supplies which had been granted by Parliament, the King made every preparation in his power, for carrying on the War with Spain—a treaty of alliance was entered into with the United Provinces and France—Compulsory loans were raised by the power of the royal prerogative, and a fleet was sent out under the command of Sir Edward Cecil, Lord Wimbledon, and the Earl of Essex. But to no purpose. The fleet, which had been delayed two months from the difficulty of providing the necessary equipments, was encountered by violent storms. Disease invaded the Ships, whilst mutiny and insubordination amongst the men and incapacity in the Leaders, rendered the expedition abortive, and covered all who were concerned in it with disgrace and shame.

Fruitless expedition  
against Cadiz.

During this transaction another misfortune befel the Monarchy in the removal of Bishop Williams, from the office of Lord High Chancellor, almost the only man of his day who had sufficient

Bishop Williams removed.



SECTION IV. But with all his temper and moderation, he could not avoid the displeasure of the Duke of Buckingham, and the great Seal was committed to the custody of Sir Thomas Coventry; whilst Bishop Laud was promoted to the immediate presence of the King; and became his Secretary and Councillor for Ecclesiastical affairs.

Another Parliament assembled.

A. D. 1626.

These changes were highly displeasing to the nation, and increased the general dissatisfaction; whilst on the assembling of Parliament, although many of the late violent members were displaced, yet other ardent spirits were returned, amongst whom was Sir John Elliot, who, at all hazards was bent upon the ruin of the Duke of Buckingham. The commons as usual began their business with formal complaints against the conduct of the Government—the toleration of Papists, the mismanagement of the public Revenue, and, above all, against the enormous power and corruption of the Duke of Buckingham; and the state of feeling at that time, in the House and country, will appear from the circumstance, that when a certain member of Parliament observed, *that there were many gins and snares set for the Papists, but not one mouse-trap for the Puritans*, he was expelled the house!

The King who had been involved by his Father, in a line of policy diametrically opposed to the state of feeling which existed in the nation, con-



ducted himself with great dignity and moderation. But he was evidently ignorant of the extreme difficulties of his position, and of the dangers with which his throne was surrounded. He gave the House, in answer to their complaints, the strongest assurances of his willingness to redress all existing grievances; but at the same time, he highly resented their inquiry into the conduct of his favorite minister, and even said: "I will not allow any of my servants to be questioned amongst you, much less, such as are of eminent place: I see you especially aim at the Duke of Buckingham, I wonder what has so altered your affections towards him."

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

This answer was impolitic; and discovered that the King was ignorant of the extent of his prerogative, and assumed as true, a most unconstitutional maxim—that he was not only independent in the choice of his ministers, but that their conduct was beyond the control of Parliament. It was a feature of that policy against which the *mind* of the nation was directed, and had a direct tendency to inflame the public discontent. The effect in the house was as might be expected. The attempt of the King to stem the torrent by the force of authority, increased its turbulence, and made it overflow its banks. The most vehement speeches were directed against the Duke, on which occasion, Sir John Elliot was most conspicuous for his boldness and severity. The King

The public  
mind not to be  
forced.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.



however, vindicated the honor of his friend and minister ; and maintained his high prerogative in opposition to the power of Parliament ; “ Remember, said the unexperienced Monarch, that Parliaments are altogether in my power for their calling, sitting and dissolution ; therefore, as I find the fruits of them good or evil they are to continue, or not, to be.” Such a high tone of expressions set the House in a flame, and to allay, in some measure, their resentment, the King commanded the Duke, personally, to vindicate his own character in a conference of the two Houses ; which he did, with great prudence and address. But nothing could allay the storm ; and, although there can be no doubt that he was sincerely bent on promoting the honor of his master and the prosperity of his country, yet nothing could prevent the retributory vengeance which was due to his pride and ambition, and that licentious exercise of power which made him obnoxious to a whole nation.

Duke of  
Buckingham  
impeached.

A. D. 1626.

It will not be necessary to enter into a detail of his solemn impeachment by the whole body of the Commons : suffice it to say, that it was conducted by six of the ablest lawyers in the House, Glanville, Herbert, Selden, Pym, Wansford, and Sherland. The prologue was made by Sir Dudley Diggs, and the epilogue by Sir John Elliot, who in the conclusion of his speech, compared the Duke “ to a beast called *Stellionatus*, so blurred,



so spotted, so full of foul lines, as they knew not how to describe it: one, who intercepted, consumed, and exhausted the revenues of the crown, not only to satisfy his own lust, but the luxury of others; and thus by emptying the veins of the kingdom, had cast the whole body into a deep consumption."

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

The King interposed his authority, and Sir Dudley Diggs and Sir John Elliot were imprisoned for the extravagant and libellous manner in which they had conducted the impeachment. But the Duke supported by the consciousness of his *ministerial* integrity, invited the trial; and on the eighth of June, made his defence before the House of Lords; and gave distinct answers to the thirteen articles which had been preferred against him; and, such was the force of his address and the modesty and humility with which it was delivered, that his enemies who expected a haughty and imperious answer, were entirely confounded.

Defends himself with success.

But whilst his defence was calculated to allay the general discontent, and to remove much of the prejudice entertained against him by moderate and right judging men, it seemed as if nature herself had taken up the quarrel: for a phenomenon happened at this juncture, which, by its proximity to his residence, was interpreted as an omen against him. This phenomenon was a water spout, of large dimensions, which arose out of the Thames in a circular form; and when elevated about twelve feet above the level of the

But nothing can save him.



SECTION river, was carried with great impetuosity to the  
 IV. other side, and made a furious assault against the  
 CHAP. II. garden walls of York House where the Duke then  
 resided: it then burst asunder and gradually  
 ascended till it vanished out of the sight of the  
 astonished spectators; upon whose minds, as related  
 by the writers of that day, it left a strong impression  
 of the guilt and impending fate of the  
 mighty Duke.

Parliament  
 dissolved.

But the King, wearied out with the vexatious  
 delays of the Commons, and their continued opposition  
 to the Duke of Buckingham, against whom  
 they were intending to present a formal remonstrance,  
 determined on an immediate dissolution, after it had  
 sat more than eighteen weeks, without passing one  
 public act; although it was a period of time, greater  
 than the longest session in the reign of Elizabeth.

Its character.

Undoubtedly, in this Parliament there were  
 men of high attainments and of penetrating judgment,  
 whose determination it was, if possible, to curtail and  
 define the prerogatives of the crown; but they had no  
 settled plan of operation, which rendered their  
 deliberations irregular and inefficient. The majority  
 were actuated by selfish and contracted views which  
 made their opposition factious; and drove them to  
 irritating expedients which tended to harass and  
 perplex the government without benefiting their country.



But the precipitate policy of the King only tended to increase the evils, which it was intended to remedy. His necessities were extreme. Not only did he require great sums of money to meet the expenses of the war; but his uncle and ally the King of Denmark, together with his confederates, met with a signal overthrow from the arms of the Emperor; and was reduced to great extremity. Charles used every effort to raise supplies. Tonnage and poundage were levied—loans of the gentry and nobility were exacted—the crown lands were mortgaged—the ports and maritime counties were taxed to a certain number of ships. In short, every thing that precedent could justify, or necessity invent was resorted to by the Council. Vast sums of money were paid with great cheerfulness for the King's service; but the nation, generally, was much dissatisfied; and loud complaints were made against these exactions. Bishop Laud made himself conspicuous on this occasion. He drew up a form of instruction for the Clergy on the exigency of the times, and the necessity that existed for a speedy and liberal supply. His example was followed by other clergymen, who considered it a sacred duty to come forward in support of their King and Country; nor should we have deemed their patriotic efforts unworthy of the highest praise, had they not favored a system of political policy which, if established, would have been fatal to our Consti-

SECTION

IV.

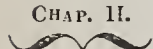
CHAP. II.

Irregular  
methods of  
raising Money.



SECTION tional liberties. Of all the Clergy, Doctor Sib-  
 IV. thorpe, vicar of Brackley in Northamptonshire,

CHAP. II.



Extreme  
 opinions incul-  
 cated.

and Doetor Roger Mainwaring, were the most  
 active; and advocated the most extreme and arbi-  
 trary principles of government. The latter, in two  
 sermons, published under the title of "Religion  
 and Allegiance," advanced this doctrine—"That  
 the King is not bound to observe the laws of the  
 realm concerning the subject's rights and liberties:  
 but his *Royal will* and command in imposing taxes  
 without consent of Parliament, does oblige the sub-  
 ject's conscience upon pain of eternal damnation."

LAW alone  
 paramount  
 consistent with  
 Scripture and  
 reason,

It is true, that Christianity strongly and unequi-  
 vocally demands our submission and obedience to  
 "the Powers that be;" but, we are no where  
 called upon to violate common sense; nor, to yield  
 up our social advantages and civil freedom. Cer-  
 tainly, if we believe the New Testament, we are  
 bound to yield an absolute obedience to the gov-  
 erning powers: but we are not bound to give our  
 assent to their unjust and arbitrary decrees; much  
 less, can it ever become a *duty* to advocate a sys-  
 tem of policy, inconsistent with rational freedom,  
 or our acknowledged rights. Besides, as English-  
 men, we do not owe a *divided* allegiance to "the  
 Powers that be." We do not owe allegiance to  
 the Executive or sovereign power, distinct from  
 the concurrence of the two Houses of Parliament,  
 but to their united will, which is—the LAW. And  
 to the King, as the Executive Magistrate, acting



under the sanction of Law, we acknowledge the most absolute submission. But during the period of which we are writing, these principles were not brought out into such bold relief as they are at present. Neither the extent of the Royal Prerogative—nor the liberty of the subject—nor the jurisdiction of Parliament, were practically defined: and hence it was, that such extravagant opinions were held on both sides; and which, required a long series of years to adjust and rectify. And it is easy to perceive, that, could such doctrines as those of Doctor Mainwaring have been established, and such methods of raising money perpetuated, the liberty of the subject would have been at the mercy of the Sovereign—the Monarchical power itself would have become exorbitant; and, in all probability, the advance of the country in its glorious career, as an EXEMPLAR STATE, would have been frustrated. But this was not to be: and we are deeply indebted to many heroic individuals of that day, who endangered their own ease, and, even liberty, by their opposition to the unconstitutional exercise of the Royal Prerogative. Amongst these are the names of Sir Thomas Wentworth, Mr. George Ratcliff, Sir George Strangeways, Sir Thomas Grantham, and Sir Harbottle Grimstone.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

not then understood.

These gentlemen were treated with considerable severity, and imprisoned in Counties distant from their family and friends; a measure, which had an unhappy influence upon the public mind. The

The Patriots suffer.



SECTION popular discontent was still further increased by  
 IV. the removal of Lord Chief Justice Carew, who was  
 CHAP. II. succeeded by Sir Nicholas Hyde; and still more,  
 when Bishop Williams, for expressing an opinion  
 in opposition to the loan, was summoned before  
 the inquisition of the Star Chamber; whilst Bishop  
 Laud, on the death of Doctor Arthur Lake, was  
 translated to the See of Bath and Wells, and ap-  
 pointed Dean of the Chapel Royal, at Windsor.

The Roman-  
 ists presume.  
 A. D. 1627.

The titular  
 Bishop of Chal-  
 cedon was sent  
 as Vicar Gene-  
 ral, and Arch-  
 deacons ap-  
 pointed in all  
 the Dioceses of  
 England.

Receive a  
 check.

In the midst of these perplexing difficulties new  
 sources of trial began to open upon the King, in  
 his domestic relations; and he began to experience  
 some of the evils arising from the infatuated policy  
 of his father, in his marriage with a daughter of  
 France. By the marriage articles it was agreed,  
 as we have already stated, that the Queen was to  
 have the choice of her own domestics—to be at-  
 tended with a certain number of Priests and a Bi-  
 shop, who should be allowed to exercise the pecu-  
 liar functions of the Episcopal office. Fortified  
 with such immunities—courted by the English  
 Romanists, and supported by the authority of the  
 Queen, they found little difficulty in extending  
 their influence, and strengthening their cause.—  
 Emboldened by success, they proceeded to the  
 most unwarrantable lengths. A Vicar-general was  
 appointed, the titular Bishop of Chalcedon, and  
 Archdeacons through all the dioceses of England.

Not content with this public exhibition, they  
 set all order and propriety so far at defiance,



that the Queen, who was entirely devoted to her religion, was on some occasion of penance, ordered to proceed on foot to Tyburn, to perform her devotions. The King complained to the King of France; but still they carried themselves in the most offensive manner, and became missionaries, rather than domestics. The King's mind was greatly affected by their dishonourable conduct; which influenced the behaviour of his Queen, and created mutual disquietude. The King tried every expedient in vain. Every effort he made, seemed only to increase their opposition, and plunge him into greater perplexity; till at length, he determined upon their summary dismissal. Having repaired to Somerset House, he commanded the attendance of the Queen's household, and addressed them to the following effect;—"He was driven" he said, "to that extremity as personally to acquaint them, that he desired their return into France. That, though the deportment of some had been inoffensive, yet others had so abused, and affronted him, that he neither could nor would any longer endure it." The Bishop of Mende, and Madame Saint George, who had been the greatest offenders, began to make their apologies, but the King turned from them, and simply observed, "I name none, but I tell you my resolution."

The Queen was roused to immoderate warmth, when she heard of the King's determination, broke

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.



The Queen  
displeased,



SECTION out into loud complaints, and reproached him for his ungracious conduct. The King, who was passionately attached to his consort, employed every tender and conciliatory method to pacify her, but to no purpose ; till at length he insisted upon his authority, and peremptorily told her that it must be so. From that time, she became a more attached and obedient wife ; but the King's sorrows in that quarter, were only in their commencement. He took every precaution to prevent any offence on the part of the King of France ; but, all his endeavours were ineffectual ; and he was plunged into a new war with France, which gratified, at once, the revenge and the disappointed lust of the Duke of Buckingham. Accordingly, he took upon himself the whole management of the war, and left the English shores with a well-manned fleet, and numerous land-forces ; of which he took the command, both as Admiral and General. The Protestant party in France, was at this time, contending for freedom against the Popish power, in alliance with the French monarchy.—Rochelle was their chief strength, and which still held out against the whole power of France. The Duke, sailing to the town, offered them his assistance ; but at this juncture, having suffered great disasters, they were affraid to unite with the English forces, and involve themselves in new difficulties, without consulting the heads of the Protestant union. In the mean time, the Duke landed his

IV.

CHAP. II.

which leads to  
a War with  
France.



troops on the Island of Rhè, with the intention of securing that important station as a field for future operations ; and he had now a fair opportunity of discovering the energy and capacity of his mind. But he utterly failed in all his efforts, and shewed, that he did not possess sufficient talent for conducting any great or noble enterprise.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

Nothing could exceed the storm of indignation which met the Duke on his return from this unsuccessful expedition. He went forth attended with all the hatred which attaches to a great favorite, and returned loaded with all the disgrace which attends an unfortunate General. All were loud in their complaints, except his gracious Master, who received him with that warm affection, which only served to increase the general resentment. The citizens complained of their trade—the merchants of their discouragements—the sailors on account of their arrears of pay—all clamoured for redress : and the odium of all the national grievances fell upon the unfortunate Duke.

Disgrace of  
the Duke of  
Buckingham.

These evils were still further inflamed by the persecution and deposition of the venerable Archbishop ; who had been opposed, from the beginning, to the extreme and arbitrary measures of the Court, and studied, by moderation in the reform of manifest abuses, to meet the just demands of reasonable men. His fall presents a noble instance of intrepid firmness and disinterested virtue. It will be remembered that Sibthorpe, Vicar of Brackley,

Deposition of  
the Archbishop



SECTION IV. CHAP. II. was one of those, who vindicated, in extravagant terms, the absolute and independent power of the Sovereign. Before his book was published, it was necessary that it should receive the license of the Archbishop. But the sentiments which it contained, were such as the Archbishop could not sanction ; and he steadily refused his “ Imprimatur,” in opposition, even, to the command of the King. His Sequestration immediately followed, and the jurisdiction of the Primacy was placed in the hands of six Bishops, of which, Laud was one.

Sir Robert  
Cotton.

In this exigency of affairs, the whole nation with one voice, demanded a Parliament : and it is a curious fact, that Sir Robert Cotton, the famous antiquary, was called before the King and Council to declare his opinion, in point of history and law, on the present juncture ; a task which he performed in the most judicious manner ; and in conclusion, gave his advice that a Parliament should be called. Such is the excellency of wisdom, and the power with which it can, sometimes, invest its possessor !

Parliament  
Summoned.  
A. D. 1628.

It was accordingly resolved in Council, that the Parliament should meet on the seventeenth of March ; and, before the writs were issued, it was deemed proper to soothe the public mind by some popular acts of the executive. The Archbishop was restored—the Earl of Bristol and the Bishop of Lincoln, who had suffered great hardships, received the writ of summons ; and all those who



were under a sentence of arbitrary imprisonment, were released. But in vain. These last hastening to their respective Counties, were unanimously elected, and returned to Parliament, as Patriots who had suffered for attachment to the Constitution.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

The opening of this Parliament was a solemn crisis in our history; and every individual concerned in it, felt it to be so. The sermon was preached by Bishop Laud, in which he exhorted them to “unity” as the only means of saving their country from anarchy. The King opened the Session in person; with an able and conciliatory Speech. The House proceeded to their debates with great temper and resolution. They felt it to be their bounden duty to redress the grievances of the subject, and at the same time, they saw the necessity of granting supplies for the pressing demands of the State. After a short debate, they determined that grievances and supplies should go, hand in hand; and taking a review of the dangers which threatened the State, they considered the most imminent to flow from the toleration and increase of Popery. A remonstrance was drawn up, consisting of eight articles, and presented to the King against the adherents of that religion, to which the King answered distinctly on each article, through the Lord Keeper, and gave the House the fullest satisfaction—assuring them, at the same time, of the security of their

Promising  
appearances.



SECTION IV. Rights and Liberties. The House immediately voted a liberal supply, and the breach between the King and his Parliament seemed to be healed. The King in the warmest manner, expressed his satisfaction, and accounted it his greatest happiness to be restored to unity with his people.

Petition of  
Rights.

But the House was not to be flattered out of its duty. It formed itself into a grand committee on the State of the Nation ; and, in a few days, drew up the “ PETITION OF RIGHTS,” which they transmitted to the Upper House. The good Archbishop was at his post, and in a conference between the two Houses, in a mild and conciliating speech proposed some amendments, the same in effect, with the resolutions of the Commons, but clothed in more moderate and becoming language, which, however, were not satisfactory. The King finding the Commons warmed with their subject ; and startled at their bold and determined language, proceeded to the House of Lords, and commanding the attendance of the Commons, he ordered their Petition to be read—and gave his solemn assurance and promise, that it should, in every respect, be observed. This extraordinary method silenced, but did not satisfy the House. They proceeded, however, to other business. A declaration was made against Doctor Mainwaring on account of the sermon to which we have already alluded ; and the severity of his sentence will at once shew how little a just toleration was understood, either



by the Prince, or the people. The worthy divine, SECTION  
for publishing his political opinions, was imprisoned, and fined to the amount of One thousand IV.  
pounds; suspended from all ecclesiastical functions, for three years; and it was further ordered, CHAP. II.  
that his books should be publicly burnt, and that  
he himself should make a public recantation.

In all probability, the solemn assurances which the King had just made, would have caused the  
“PETITION OF RIGHTS” to sink into oblivion, had not a message from his Majesty, fixing an early day for the termination of the Session, requesting them to expedite their business, and not to cast any aspersions on the Government or Ministry—roused the fears and jealousies of the House. After long deliberation, and frequent messages from the King; it was, at length, agreed that the “PETITION OF RIGHTS” should pass into a Law. Its consideration revived.

The Bill was therefore proceeded with, and after several conferences, it received the royal assent in full Parliament on the fifth of June, when, on the conclusion of the King’s speech a mighty shout testified their sense of the importance of a measure which may be justly esteemed next to the “MAGNA CHARTA” itself, in the history of our constitution. It was received by the nation with universal joy, the bells were rung and bonfires lighted throughout London and the Country, as if some solemn and national jubilee had been celebrated. And, had the Parliament been satisfied with this great Passed into a Law.



SECTION triumph, and proceeded with moderation in the  
 IV. reform and conduct of the State, they would have  
 CHAP II. deserved the unbounded gratitude of posterity.

On their assembling the next day, the House appeared to think its measures ought to be conciliating; but, unfortunately, one word from Sir John Strangeways, who was afterwards an ardent loyalist and great sufferer in the civil wars, set the House upon finishing the remonstrance which it had prepared. The King was highly incensed when this remonstrance, which concluded with a vehement denunciation against the Duke of Buckingham, was presented to him; and, before another remonstrance on the duties of tonnage and poundage could be presented, he abruptly prorogued the session.

Treachery  
 and Death of  
 Buckingham.

During this time a formidable fleet and army had been dispatched for the relief of Rochelle under the Earl of Denbigh and returned without striking a single blow. Amidst the conflicting opinions which prevailed at the time, respecting this extraordinary expedition, it is impossible to decide as to the real cause of its return—suffice it to say, that it was through intrigue and treachery. Who the culprit was, it is not easy to determine: the odium fell, and, perhaps, not unjustly, upon the Duke of Buckingham; whose short and licentious career was about to receive a fatal termination. His unpopularity at this moment was extreme.—No person ever seemed to draw down upon himself,



more completely the indignation of a whole people. But his hour was come. Every person seemed to forbode his impending fate and he himself, it is said, entertained the most painful apprehensions of its approach. The measure of his iniquities was, indeed, full: and, a dreadful retribution was now preparing for him, by the hand of a gloomy assassin.—This was Felton, who had served under the Duke during the siege of the Citadel of Saint Martine in his attempts on the Island of Rhè; and being refused some promotion to which he considered himself entitled, threw up his commission in disgust, and determined upon revenge. His own grievance was inflamed, beyond all reason, by the strong and universal feeling against the Duke; but, most of all, by the open declaration of the House of Commons, “that the Duke was the great grievance of the nation, and the principal cause of all the evils under which it suffered.” This fired his private revenge—and inspired him with the belief, that by accomplishing the destruction of the Duke, he should perform a public benefit, and deserve to be recorded as a benefactor to his country. Accordingly, the day after the Duke arrived at Portsmouth for the purpose of superintending the embarkation of the troops designed for Rochelle, he effected his atrocious purpose. It was nine o’clock in the morning, and sustained with the most deadly resolution, he stationed himself, with many others, in

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

Felton  
assassinates  
Buckingham  
A. D. 1628.



SECTION the anti-chamber of the Duke's dressing room.

IV. The Duke attended by a number of gentlemen

CHAP. II.

and officers of the army, and some French protestant noblemen, was leaving his dressing room

The Duke of Buckingham. for breakfast, which he was never to enjoy. On removing the tapestry which separated the rooms,

the Duke appeared in all his greatness, unconscious of danger, and in earnest conversation with the gentlemen around him. In an instant, the assassin, like some furious animal, intent upon his prey, springing behind his victim, struck his dagger over the Duke's shoulder, with fatal precision, into his heart. Whether, or, not, the Duke recognised the hand which directed the fatal blow, he exclaimed "The villain has killed me," and drawing out the weapon with his own hand, instantly expired! Thus fell, the great, and noble, and illustrious Villiers, at once, the pride and disgrace of his country. In personal attractions and dazzling acquirements he was superior to all men, whilst at the same time, he exceeded all, in the impetuosity of his passions, the unbridled licence of his manners and the unbounded lust of his ambition. His murderer, who rejoiced in the crime he had perpetrated, was immediately apprehended. He persisted to the last in maintaining, that no other person had any share in the transaction. After his trial, he behaved himself with great humility, and with every sign of deep remorse, if not repentance. Indeed, so great was his com-



punction that he requested the Judge, that the hand which committed the deed might be struck off before his execution, which the Judge refused, on account of its being illegal.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

The Court was then at Southwark; and the tidings of the Duke's death was conveyed to the King by Sir Thomas Hipposly, who arrived in town next day. It was Sunday morning, and the King was attending prayers. Sir Thomas entered the chapel with a mournful countenance, and approaching the King, privately announced the tragic event. The King received the tidings without a word, and, with the most settled composure. No change was observable in his looks or actions, till the conclusion of prayers, when he hurried to his private apartment, and in floods of tears, gave vent to the emotions of his heart. He continued some days in retirement, and shewed the sincerity of his attachment to his murdered minister by the affectionate manner in which he treated his relations and friends, and the carefulness with which he discharged his debts. The body of the Duke lay in state at York House, and was, with great solemnity, entombed in Westminster Abbey.

The King's  
Conduct.

The death of the unfortunate Duke made it necessary that certain changes should take place in the administration of public affairs. Sir Richard Weston was made Lord High Treasurer—a man of active and enterprising disposition, whose first endeavour was to gain Sir Thomas Went-

Changes in  
the administra-  
tion.



SECTION IV.  
 CHAP. II.

worth to the King's interest, in which he entirely succeeded. He was created Viscount Wentworth, and appointed President of the North, became one of the most devoted friends of the Monarchy and was certainly, one of the ablest Ministers the Crown of England ever possessed. Bishop Laud, was translated to the See of London, and the Archbishop of Canterbury introduced and reconciled to the King, whose sincere desire of assisting the French Protestants had already determined upon the relief of Rochelle. A fleet was fitted out under the command of the Earl of Lindsay: but, there was one man in France, whose towering genius was more formidable than fleets and armies. The English fleet presented itself before Rochelle; nor, was there a single French ship to oppose them; but the prodigious mole which the Cardinal Richelieu had constructed across the entrance of the harbour, defied all their efforts. Rochelle after unheard-of sufferings was finally reduced—the Protestant cause in France entirely ruined—their liberties oppressed—the Monarchy aggrandised and rendered absolute; which, at length, wrought out its own retribution in the horrid Revolution of 1792.

Opening of  
 Parliament.  
 A. D. 1629.

The King opened the second Session of the third Parliament, on the twentieth of January, in a most gracious and patriotic speech, in which he exhorted the Commons to put an end to all disputes, by passing the bill for tonnage and pound-




age, as had been customary in all former reigns, declaring he would receive it, “not as a matter of right, but as of his People’s favour.”

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.


 Conduct of  
Parliament.

It was justly expected that the House of Commons would cease its hostility to the Crown, and proceed to the dispatch of business with moderation and candour. But alas! the spirit of discord prevailed against all the claims of justice and honor, and evil Counsellors taking occasion from the spirit of the times, fomented that religious rancour which afterwards proceeded to such monstrous licentiousness, and involved the whole Monarchy in ruin. Instead of proceeding with their proper business, and carrying on such Reforms in the State as were absolutely necessary, their whole attention was bent upon the discovery of grievances, not, always, of importance, and on the dangers to be apprehended from the growth of Arminianism. Certainly their fears on this ground were imaginary. Experience has assured us, that there is no necessary connexion between Arminianism and political delinquency. But the nation, at this juncture, was deeply imbued through the vigorous ministrations of the Clergy, with the Calvinistic notions of dogmatical theology. The Reformers of the Anglican Church were moderate both in their views of doctrine and discipline; but the Clergy who had taken refuge abroad, during the Marian persecution, returned home, deeply impressed in favour of the foreign Churches,



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.



Calvinistic  
and Arminian  
theories.

especially that of Geneva, which was Presbyterian in discipline and Calvinistic in doctrine. The Puritan clergy, although they conformed for the sake of unity, yet adopted the general scheme of theology first revived by Calvin in modern days; and though many of them did not advance further than they were warranted by the articles of religion; yet, others carried out its peculiarities into extravagance. The principle of Arminianism is, not only more accordant with the maxims of our rational Constitution in Church and State; but more consistent perhaps, with the uniform teaching of the Church than those of the Calvinistic theory, which have only been embraced and inculcated by a few eminent Doctors of the ancient Church. The Arminian doctrine teaches “that Christ has not only redeemed all, but that there is a universal grace given to all mankind; that this grace is not an irresistible principle; that man is a free agent, always at liberty to obey all the emotions of the Holy Spirit, or, resist them; that with respect to perseverance a man may, after justification fall into new crimes.” Whilst the Calvinistic theology maintains “the absoluteness of God’s decrees without any regard to the merit or demerit of man; and that God foreknew a determinate number with whom he intended to manifest his glory; having predestinated them to be holy, he gives them an irresistible grace, and makes it impossible for them to be otherwise.” It is easy to perceive,



that this latter view of Christian doctrine is of a much more sublime and mysterious character; and much more likely to lead men away from the sober discharge of their relative and social duties, not only, into the regions of doubtful and presumptuous disputation, but into those of obstinate and wild fanaticism. But I must not enlarge too far. The sequel of this history will afford, alas! too frequent opportunities of remarking, on the evil of both these systems, when carried to their extremes, and dogmatically insisted upon. The truth, no doubt, is in the union of both; and I apprehend, the doctrinal standard and the instructional Formulæ of the Church of England have embodied their just and scriptural application. No person, endued with reason, will attempt to dispute the absolute sovereignty of the Most High, nor hesitate to subscribe to the Apostolic declaration that “every good gift and every perfect gift cometh down from the Father of Lights;” nor, will any Christian man withhold his assent from the proposition, *that man in his present fallen state is as far gone as possible from original righteousness, that he is of his own nature inclined to evil, and that the condition of man is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works to faith and calling upon God.\** and, surely, none will dispute that man is an accountable being, and that he is addressed every-

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

\* Articles of Religion, ix. x.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

Distorted  
views of Chris-  
tianity injuri-  
ous-

where in the New Testament, as under an obligation to repent and believe the gospel. Now, it is evident that these simple, undeniable propositions contain the substance of both theories; that they are perfectly agreeable to the nature of things, and fully substantiated by plain declarations of Scripture. It is equally plain, that if I take any one of these propositions and dwell upon it to the exclusion of the others, I must give a distorted view of the Christian revelation, in which, all are inculcated. When, therefore, the Calvinist seizes upon the doctrine of God's sovereignty exclusively, and carries out his system into all its legitimate conclusions—that God has elected a certain determinate number of the human race to be saved—that this number cannot be increased or diminished by any human effort—that the elect are called and sanctified by the Holy Spirit; and, that they cannot effectually resist his agency, but must infallibly be saved, whilst the rest of mankind must infallibly be lost—it is evident that such a statement is repugnant to our ideas of man's free agency, omits the Scripture doctrine of man's responsibility, and is incongruous and inconsistent with the general tenor of the Christian Dispensation. It does not become men to lay down a system which *they* may think most becoming the Divine attributes, but to adopt, with humility, *all* the leading points of Revelation, as alike essential to the truth of His nature; and, we may rest as-



sured, that, if any one point is excluded in its administration, the results will be injurious to the welfare and happiness of man. It was manifestly seen in the effect of the doctrine which was exhibited by the Clergy, at the period at which we have now arrived. The doctrines of predestination and election, and the final perseverance of the Saints were inculcated with great fervor and powerful eloquence by the Puritan Clergy; and, generally speaking, with the inculcation of holiness as the necessary result of election, which is the redeeming property of the system; but still, it was not the harmonizing system of the gospel; and it produced in its professors an incorrect portraiture of the Christian character. They were zealous and indefatigable in their labours—men of considerable learning, well versed in the Scriptures, and of great piety, but evidently infected with an overweening prejudice in favor of their own peculiar opinions—an undue persuasion of a peculiar divine favor, rigid self-denial and a severity of manners inconsistent with the simplicity of the gospel. At the same time, they were bold and uncompromising in their denunciations of Popery; and carried their opposition to such an unreasonable extent, as to demur in their conformity to the ceremonies of their own church however sanctioned by ancient usage, simplicity and propriety. King James himself was educated in this system; and when he ascended the English throne was, nom-

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

Puritan  
Clergy.



SECTION inally, of this school. His understanding entertained the dry and scholastic speculations of the system, but his affections were never brought under its controul; so that it never produced in him, anything but low and foolish conceits, harmless to himself and others. But the opposition of the Presbyterians in Scotland, and a similar disposition which he discerned in the Puritan Clergy of England, disgusted him with the Calvinistic doctrine; and he adopted and cherished the Arminian theology as a counterpoise to the growing popularity of Puritanism, and promoted its Divines to the highest stations in the Church. Under the Royal patronage it acquired strength, and, at this period of our history, through the unwearied zeal and earnestness of Laud, who was the great patron of this school, it had acquired extensive influence in the Anglican Church.

Arminian  
Clergy.

The Arminian party, became as it were, identified with the Government, and, of necessity, supported the measures of the Executive, and advocated the rights of the Prerogative to an unwarrantable extent—asserting the absolute power of the Monarch, and avowing principles destructive of our constitutional liberties.—Hence their religious tenets became the measure of their political sentiments. It was a grand mistake. There can be no necessary connexion between Arminianism and tyranny—any more than there is between Calvinism and Republicanism. The ten-



dency of the one, is to rest in human forms; of the other, to verge into fanaticism. But the doctrines themselves, have no principle in common with any political theory.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

The house of Commons, however, whether from factious motives, or, really from fear of the spread of Arminianism, adopted this mistaken notion and inveighed against Arminianism, as the root of all bitterness and the cause of every grievance in the body politic! It is surprising to think how men of such undoubted abilities should so far have committed themselves. On the very first day of the sessions when the house had entered upon the discussion of the grievances respecting religion, Mr. Rouse denounced Arminianism as “an Error that made the grace of God lackey it after the will of man, that made the sheep to keep the Shepherd, and a mortal seed of an immortal God; and that an Arminian was the spawn of a Papist, ready to open the gate to Romish Tyranny and Spanish Monarchy.” And Sir Robert Philips is reported to have said, “two sects are damnably crept in, to undermine King and kingdom; the one, ancient Popery, the other, new Arminianism.” Nor was the furious Sir John Elliot behind-hand in these declamatory proceedings. “As to Popery and Arminianism,” he said, “our faith and religion are in danger—for these like an inundation, break in at once upon us. In this Laud is contracted all the dangers we fear.” And it is

Conduct of  
the House of  
Commons.



SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.

important to observe, that on this same day the report of the *Committee on Religion* was presented to the house, to which the name of OLIVER CROMWELL was attached! In this report, loud complaints were made against the promoting of Montague and Mainwaring to the bench—concluding, “If these be steps to Church preferment, what are we shortly to expect?”

Violent  
Proceedings.

From this time there appeared an incurable breach between the King and his Parliament, incessant debates arose on the most irritating topics—various remonstrances were drawn up on the subject of Popery and Arminianism, so that the public business was at a stand-still, and the King found it necessary to adjourn Parliament in order to allow time for reflection. But in vain. The same litigious spirit prevailed; and, when the King, a second time attempted to adjourn the House, the order was resisted with great tumult: the door of the house was locked—violence was used to restrain the Speaker from leaving the chair. But he was inflexible. Neither persuasion nor threats could shake his fidelity to the King and the Constitution. I say this, because at that time, the power of adjournment was generally acknowledged to reside in the Crown. Notwithstanding, he was held in the chair by force, whilst a protestation concerning Popery and Arminianism was carried by acclamation.



The King on hearing of these disorders, sent a messenger for the Sergeant and his mace, but the messenger was not admitted. He then dispatched Maxwell, the Usher of the Black Rod, to dissolve the Parliament; but the door was still locked and all entrance denied. Provoked at their rebellion, the King sent for the Captain of the Guards, determined to force an entrance: but fortunately, in the meantime, the House had adjourned.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

At this unhappy juncture, it was the advice of the prudent and sagacious Bishop of Lincoln, that the King should invite the two Houses to a conference on the state of public affairs; whilst he himself, undertook to reconcile Sir John Elliot to the Government. But his counsel was rejected, and more strenuous methods adopted—Warrants were issued for apprehending nine of the members who were leaders in the late disorder, amongst whom was Sir John Elliot; who, refusing his liberty on bail, was committed to prison, where he shortly after died; and the Parliament was dissolved, with a determination, on the part of the King, if possible, never to summon it again. His resolve was solemn and determined: but it was vain. The benevolent purposes of the MOST HIGH, had determined that England should advance, in the free exercise of all its energies; and, in the possession of the True Religion, to become an EXEMPLAR STATE amongst the nations of the

Parliament  
dissolved  
March 10,  
A. D. 1629.



SECTION earth. In the mean time a severe retribution was preparing for all those, who were engaged in these

IV.

CHAP. II.



transactions; and who, in the measures which they adopted, were seeking their own gratification, rather than the welfare of their Country. Revolving years were destined to create a necessity which

Constitution  
suspended.

was to overpower the King's resolution, and oblige him to summon a Parliament, which was to be the cause of his overthrow and ruin; whilst the Parliament itself, was to be swallowed up in the anarchical gulf which it had created. Nevertheless, in compassion, as it were, to the Sovereign, and as a reward for the sincerity, integrity, and virtue of his character—the space of twelve years is allotted to him, in which he was to enjoy a season of almost uninterrupted repose and prosperity. His court was conducted with the greatest order and regularity, which impressed a real dignity on the splendid formality which prevailed in every department; whilst the calm reserve, and majestic deportment of the King, gave a finishing lustre to the whole. But he did not depart from the policy of his father. During this period the government of England was an Autocracy. The Constitution was suspended; and, it will be our duty to trace, with all impartiality, the circumstances which transpired, and which led, after many years of confusion, misery, and oppression, to the Restoration of the Monarchy, and the final establishment of our civil and ecclesiastical liberties.



The three principal persons who enjoyed the greatest share of favor and influence about the person of the King, were Doctor William Laud, Bishop of London, Lord Viscount Wentworth, President of the North; and James, Marquis of Hamilton. The character of the first is already before the reader.—The second, was endowed with extraordinary natural abilities, which had been carefully cultivated and adorned by education.—He possessed a vigorous judgment—a teeming fancy, and such powers of reasoning, that he was said, “rather to demonstrate than to argue.” His justice and integrity are unimpeachable: but there was a severity in his deportment, and a want of condescension in his manners, for which his surprising qualifications could not atone.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

The King's  
Ministers.

The Marquis of Hamilton, was a Scotch Peer of high and noble descent. After the death of the Duke of Buckingham he was made Master of the Horse, Gentleman of the King's bed-chamber, and Privy Councillor in both kingdoms. He was of a remarkable aspect, but naturally dark and reserved. He possessed, in an eminent degree, the arts of management, and gained his object, more by stratagem than by open assault; and, although he seemed to carry every thing with great modesty, yet he is supposed to have exercised a great influence over the councils of the Government.

Sir Thomas Coventry was Lord Keeper, a man of great knowledge in his profession, unostenta-



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

tious and retiring, and sustained his high dignity with universal reputation to his death. Sir Richard Weston, afterwards Earl of Portland, was Lord High Treasurer—a person well descended—admirably suited to his office, and of an aspiring temper; but of an abject disposition—insatiable and discontented, profuse and imperious. The Earl of Manchester was Lord Privy Seal. He was a person of great wisdom and prudence, and indefatigable in his attention to the duties of his office. But he was too solicitous after the accumulation of wealth; yet his experience, gravity, and ability secured for him a considerable share of reputation, which he enjoyed to a great age. The Earl of Arundel was Earl Marshal, a person of noble aspect and appearance. He affected a peculiar style of dress; and was thought the image and representative of the ancient nobility. He lived in great retirement and spent his time in antiquarian researches; and, expended vast sums of money in the collection of paintings and statues. But he had little learning and less patriotism, and deserted his country in the hour of danger. The Earl of Pembroke was Lord Steward, who adorned his high station with every requisition of birth, of fortune, and eloquence. Such, indeed, was the lustre of his character, that it is said “no man had sufficient courage to avow himself his enemy.” But in private life he was licentious and immoral. Sir John Cook and Sir Dudley Carleton were



Secretaries of State, the former a man of great industry, but of a contracted mind—the other a person of eminent parts, but as entirely ignorant of the constitution of his own country, as his colleague was of foreign politics.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

Such were the men who were called at this important period to preside over the destinies of their country. Certainly, never was a King supported by such ministers, or ministers adorned by such a King. The King was a pattern of honour and integrity; Strafford, of wisdom and justice; Laud, of sincerity and piety; and Hamilton, of courage and action. The two first took the charge of the civil government—the next, of ecclesiastical affairs, and the last, of the military department. The rest of the Ministry were not wanting, as we have shewn, in the ability necessary for the discharge of their respective departments; but they were generally intent upon securing their own advantage and that of their dependents; and, without foresight or patriotism, anxious to ward off immediate danger. Expediency was the law of their movements; and they were satisfied, if they could secure peace and happiness during *their* days.

Policy of the  
Government.

The first transaction of moment, was a treaty of peace with France; and by a happy concurrence, Paul Peter Rubens, the famous Painter of Antwerp, arrived in England, to mediate a peace with the Court of Spain; which was shortly after accomplished.

Treaties with  
France and  
Spain.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

Conduct of  
Ministers.

Whilst the King was thus set free from all anxiety respecting foreign affairs, and supreme and absolute in his dominions; yet, such was the wisdom and prudence of his counsels, that scarcely an error can be detected in the administration of public affairs. Every mistake arose from the line of policy in which they were involved. Various methods were resorted to for the purpose of raising supplies; but the greatest caution was observed, and every effort made, to confine the levies within the boundaries of Law and Precedent. But arbitrary power is not made for man; and in the best of hands, has a tendency to degenerate. It must protect itself by the exercise of its power: and, even, where its judgments are just, its punishments are oftentimes wanton.

Of Archbishop  
Laud.

Nor was this power permitted to slumber. Considerable irregularity and disorder prevailed in the discipline and worship of the established Church, arising from the obstinate adherence of many of the Puritan Clergy, to the doctrine and discipline of the church of Geneva. In order to avoid an open conformity to the Rites and Liturgy of the Church, they had become afternoon preachers or lecturers, and were maintained and followed by the people. In order to prevent these irregularities, and to introduce a proper conformity in the ministers of the Church, Articles of Instructions were drawn up by Bishop Laud, and issued under the King's authority—"That in all parishes the af-



ternoon sermons be turned into catechising—That every lecturer read Divine service before lecture, in his surplice and hood.—That no lecturer be admitted, that is not ready and willing to take upon him the cure of souls," &c.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

No person of the present day, will consider that these instructions were severe, or more than necessary to meet the evils which they were designed to repress. It is evident that eloquent preachers opposed to the ceremonies of the Church, would take occasion, in their lectures, to speak disrespectfully of those ceremonies; or, if not, their known sentiments had a tendency to produce an injurious effect. If the government of the Church was to be upheld, Laud could not have done otherwise. This, perhaps, will not admit of a question, but the methods which were adopted for maintaining the just authority of the Church, were not only questionable, but eminently barbarous and tyrannical. A great portion of the barbarity must be referred to the age itself, which was little scrupulous as to the private feelings of their fellow men. Another portion must be referred to the obstinacy of the Puritans, whose objections to the Liturgy of the Church were of the most frivolous description. But we have no desire to apologise for the severity of the punishments which were exacted on the unhappy Recusants. We abhor them as the exercise of arbitrary power; and rejoice, that we live in an age when the individual

How far reprehensible.



SECTION happiness of the subject is regarded with proper  
 IV. respect. One clergyman, for reflecting in his  
 CHAP. II. prayer, on the religion of the Queen as idolatrous,  
 was cited before the High Commission, suspended,  
 excommunicated, fined one thousand pounds, and  
 committed to prison. Another, was deprived of  
 his Prebendary, degraded, excommunicated, and  
 fined five hundred pounds, for preaching from the  
 words—"I hate all those who love superstitious  
 vanities, but Thy law do I love." Many others  
 were deprived for their non-compliance; and driven  
 by the severity of the Government, into foreign  
 exile. We lament the circumstances which expatriated  
 so many of our countrymen; but an overruling  
 Providence conducted these evils to a beneficial  
 result. The colony of Massachusetts Bay, was  
 formed at this juncture; and, during the period  
 of Laud's administration, seventy-four Clergymen  
 went into voluntary banishment, as the Pastors  
 of congregations in the wilds of America.

Arbitrary  
 Measures.

The celebrated Doctor Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury, was summoned before the Privy Council, for preaching on the doctrine of Predestination contrary to the King's injunction, and escaped with difficulty. But others were not so fortunate, especially Doctor Alexander Leighton, a Scotch divine, who under the excitement of an intemperate zeal, published a furious book under the title of "An appeal to the Parliament, or, a Plea against Prelacy." The author was arraigned be-



fore the Star Chamber; and he was sentenced to imprisonment during the King's pleasure, and to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds. This was sufficiently severe—but this was not all. His sentence was not only severe, but wanton. He was to be placed in the pillory, and publicly whipped, his ears cut off, his nose slit, and his face branded! What an ignominy and disgrace for a learned and excellent minister, though an intemperate bigot: yet a free-man, and the father of Archbishop Leighton!

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

Notwithstanding, it must be allowed, that, neither did the King nor his Ministers attempt to pollute the streams of justice. They were allowed to flow without interruption in their natural course. The Judges were, generally, men of uncorrupt integrity, and gave their judgment, with freedom, and courage, though often contrary to the judgment of the King, who always gave his acquiescence to their decisions.

In the midst of these public cares, on the twenty-ninth of May, was born Charles II. to the great delight of the King, who went in procession to Saint Paul's to return thanks, for such a joyful event. Joyful indeed! could he have foreseen, that, in this son, the tarnished honor of the British Monarchy was to be restored.—But happily, for his present comfort, that event, together with all the calamities which were to precede it, were hidden from his view.

Birth of King  
Charles II.  
A. D. 1630.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

Extraordi-  
nary appear-  
ance.

Whilst the Monarch was thus engaged in offering up his devotions, it is said, an unusual star appeared in a clear sky, and was observed by a multitude of spectators :—and, whatever may be our opinion of this appearance, the fact was not the invention of an after-period, but believed at the time. Medals were struck commemorative of his birth, the device and motto of which remarkably corresponded to his destiny—On one side appeared a star, representing as it were, the rise of the monarchy after a partial obscurity ; and, on the reverse the motto, “ *Hactenus, Anglorum nulli* ”—the truth of which can only be found in the extraordinary circumstances of his Restoration.

The irruption  
of Charles of  
Sweden.

Whilst in the birth of this Prince the instrument was presented to the nation, under whose auspices its ancient monarchy and constitutional liberties were, one day, to be restored, Peace was concluded with Spain ; and the Marquis of Hamilton was dispatched with six thousand men, to the assistance of the celebrated Charles, King of Sweden, who had made an impetuous irruption into Germany, in favour of the Protestant Princes, against the usurpations of the Emperor Ferdinand. His progress was irresistible. Like an overwhelming torrent he urged his rapid course into the very heart of the German Empire ; nor met with a reverse, till his devastating career received a final check at the battle of Lutzen, which ended at once, his conquests and his life. This famous



irruption lasted two years ; in which with amazing rapidity, he made himself master of two hundred and ninety-six cities, forts and walled towns ; and created a greater impression on the minds of men than any preceding conqueror. But this belongs to another History.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

Every thing in England was in the most prosperous condition. The trade and commerce of the kingdom increased to an unprecedented degree ; and London became, not only the mart, but the Bank of Christendom. Nor was it less a season of improvement in learning and science. On the death of the Earl of Pembroke, Bishop Laud had been elected, by a great majority, to the Chancellorship of the University of Oxford ; and, undoubtedly, became the most eminent man in the kingdom. He was the liberal patron of learning and religion --the vigorous promoter of ecclesiastical discipline and government, and the greatest benefactor in all designs of public charity. The generosity and patriotism of his soul may be judged of, from the munificent designs he contemplated and placed in his diary, most of which he lived to accomplish. The King, who was equal to him in a desire for the promotion of Religion, as well as in the strictness of his devotions and the purity of his life, was this year induced by the activity and zeal of the Bishop, to undertake the repairing of Saint Paul's Church, which was done at a vast expense--the King contributing ten thousand pounds, from his

Prosperous  
state of affairs.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.



private purse ; whilst Sir Paul Pindar, with the generosity of a King, undertook the repair of the great partition at the West end of the choir—adorn- ing the exterior with rich pillars of marble, and with the statues of those Saxon Kings, who had been its founders and benefactors ; and it is said, that he expended four thousand pounds in repair- ing the South transept. But all this vast expense and the exquisite skill bestowed upon it, by that celebrated Architect, were unfortunately lost in the Fire of London.

Death of a  
Patriot.  
A D. 1631.

Whilst these things were achieving, the nation lost one of its brightest ornaments in the person of the famous antiquary Sir Robert Cotton, to whom his country is infinitely indebted for his noble collections and writings.

State of Re-  
ligious parties,

Bishop Laud was still in the ascendant. His zeal and activity were undiminished, and his in- fluence with the King unbounded. The promo- tions in the church were entirely confined to the Arminian Clergy. By this means, the Puritan conforming Clergy, who were chiefly Calvinis- tic in their theology, were driven into the ranks of the disaffected ; and, the Church was des- poiled of some of her best supporters. This was a fatal mistake ; because it placed the two parties in the Church in a hostile position to each other, a circumstance, which had a tendency to propel both into the extremes of their system. Bishop Laud, by an intemperate zeal for the honor of God



and his Church, was carried beyond the bounds of a rational moderation; especially in an age, when the people, agitated by peculiar religious impressions, were incapable of exercising a correct judgement on his actions. Many of the religious rites and ceremonies which he introduced, were contrary to the established rubric of the English Church; and inconsistent with any of the genuine usages of primitive antiquity. Not only were the churches repaired and ornamented, and fitted up for divine worship; but they were adorned with candlesticks, tapers, and crucifixes; and embroidered copes were enjoined to be worn at the administration of the Sacrament.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

Innovations.

These innovations were, perhaps, harmless.— No virtue was thought to consist in these things, they were simply intended to add to the external pomp and ceremony of religion. But the grand mysteries of Redemption—the majestic truths of the Christian Religion, require no adscititious aid. They are encumbered by it. If these additions were supposed to add to the dignity of religion, they were vain—if to its solemnity, they were superstitious. As they had been so perverted, and were in abhorrence with the nation, as the *Inventions of Popery*, their revival was injudicious.

Their character,

Nor was this all, Laud was innovating also in his Episcopal ministrations. He particularly displayed the genius of his religion, in the consecration of churches. Amongst many others, history



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

Consecration  
of St. Catha-  
rine Creed's  
Church.

records that of Saint Catharine Creed as most conspicuous. On entering the church he fell down upon his knees, and, in the name of the Trinity, pronounced the place to be holy: advancing to the aisle, he several times threw the dust of the floor into the air. Approaching the East end, he solemnly bowed towards the altar. In the administration of the Sacrament his conduct was still more reprehensible. On approaching the table, he gently lifted up a corner of the napkin, in which the bread was laid; and when he beheld the bread he laid it down again, and retiring, a step or two, from the altar, he bowed three several times towards it. He passed through the same ceremonies, with the wine. All this was superstitious, that is, it was a human addition to the original institution. Who can imagine Saint Paul guilty of such ridiculous practices? Who can find any trace of such observances in the writings of the Apostolic age. We know that such additions, at a very early period, found their way into the Church, even before the usurpations of Popery; but no antiquity, *unless from the beginning*, can give authority for usages which are not justified by Scripture, or warranted by reason and propriety: but what reason or propriety was there in the act of throwing dust into the air? It was evidently an inroad upon the simplicity of Christian worship.

This affectation of ancient usages, which resembled so much, those of the Romish Church, gave



great offence to the nation. He was not only considered as a favourer of Popery, but as preparing the way for its revival. These imputations were devoid of truth; but the odium of them rested upon his devoted head. His book against the Jesuit Fisher, is an incontrovertible proof, if there were no others, that the public clamour against him was unfounded. He had no intention whatever of restoring Popery. He was not only a political Protestant and would have been the last man in England, to have sacrificed the independence of his Country, to the absurd claims of an Italian Bishop; but he held in abhorrence, many of their most prominent corruptions. No: his object was to establish on a solid and immoveable basis, the discipline and authority of the Anglo Catholic Church, which had descended to us from Apostolic times; and which had been supported and fostered by our ancient British and Saxon Kings. At the Reformation it had been rescued from the usurpations of the Popedom, and restored, in a great measure, to its primitive forms and doctrines. Its Reformation had been invaded by the Calvinistic theology and Presbyterian discipline of the church of Geneva, which spread with great rapidity in the English Church. The Puritans were embued with both, and, indeed, the whole nation; and there is every reason to believe that, had it continued its course, the torrent of opinion would have carried away the landmarks

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

Falsely accused of Popery.



SECTION of the ancient Church, and changed both its gov-


IV.

CHAP. II.



ernment and doctrine. But through the counsels of three as great men as ever lived, it received a powerful check; which, though it could not stop the overwhelming force which laid both the church and Monarchy in ruins, yet the effort recalled a vast portion of the community from the innovating mania, and laid the foundation for the future recovery of both. Laud was the chief instrument in this unequal strife, and, for this purpose, all the instruments of power and authority were placed at his disposal. He was eminently fitted for the task. He was inflexible in his disposition—sincere and devoted to his cause, and elevated in his piety. His zeal was fervent and unwearied—his moral character unblemished; and to crown the whole, he was indued with the simplicity of a child. Few men would have had the courage to have undertaken the task, of turning the religious tide of a whole nation. But he did not measure his duty by the difficulties which opposed him, but resolutely gave himself to the work, and pursued it with incredible labour, and died a martyr to it. But with this high character, Laud inherited his share of the infirmities which belong to human nature. His natural temperament was warm and impetuous. His resolutions sudden and precipitate, and his counsels capricious. His steady purpose was to restrain the advance of Puritanism, and to increase the external grandeur of



the Church. He acknowledged no middle line of policy—but pursued these designs with an inflexibility which yielded nothing to rank or learning. SECTION IV. CHAP. II.  TOLERATION was a thing unknown, and in carrying his designs into execution, his punishments degenerated into cruelty. These instances are not numerous, but they demanded a retribution which Laud did not escape. Perhaps one of the most wanton exercises of arbitrary power, was enacted this year against a most excellent Clergyman, who had ventured to preach against the pictures and decorations of the Church. He was fined, whipped, put into irons, imprisoned a whole winter in a miserable dungeon, and fed on bread and water. The Recorder of Sarum for removing from the window of the Parish Church a painting of God the Father, was fined five hundred pounds, removed from his Recordership, and committed a close prisoner to the Fleet. Such cruelty was intolerable, and shews that arbitrary power must not be intrusted to man. Notwithstanding, the great objects of the divine benevolence were advancing. In the distance, we behold the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION which was to terminate the series of events. Popular licentiousness was to be crushed. Intolerance and Fanaticism to be purged out. Absolute Power to be humbled and circumscribed. Toleration to be established, and the Church to be rescued. But at the present juncture every thing appeared secure to the imme-

Arbitrary  
measures.



SECTION diate actors. The Royal Prerogative triumphed  
 IV. —Commerce was extended—Learning advanced  
 CHAP. II. —Science was patronized—the Arts flourished;  
 and, generally speaking, the People enjoyed great  
 political happiness.

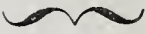
In the midst of the steady prosperity of the  
 country— a splendid Episode was enacted, which  
 as it may be considered the prelude to the great  
 disasters which are impending, must not be omitted.  
 It was the King's progress into Scotland, and his  
 Coronation in that Kingdom. His progress was  
 attended with surpassing grandeur and magnificence.  
 On the eighteenth of June, the King reached the  
 capital of Scotland, which he entered amidst happy  
 throngs of people, and was received with every  
 demonstration of loyalty and affection. Three days  
 after, the solemnities of the Coronation began. The  
 King, attended with a gorgeous train of official  
 persons and nobility, descended from the Castle  
 amidst the plaudits and acclamations of surrounding  
 multitudes, proceeded to the Abbey Church, where  
 the sermon was preached by Doctor Lindsay, Bishop  
 of Brechin; and the ceremonies of the Coronation  
 were performed by the eminent Doctor Spotswood,  
 Archbishop of Saint Andrew's. Never was a more  
 brilliant spectacle witnessed in the ancient capital  
 of Scotland. Alas! how transient is all subluna-  
 ry glory! How baseless is the superstructure of  
 our high ambition! Charles seemed to be seated

Coronation  
 in Scotland.  
 A. D. 1632.



in the affections of his subjects, and his Throne to rest on a rock of adamant. But its stability was illusory ; and, in the midst of the most flattering demonstrations of public attachment, was tottering to its fall. So true it is, that no person ought to be accounted fortunate before his death.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.



Bishop Laud attended the King on this occasion and their grand design was to establish the ecclesiastical polity of Scotland, on the same model as that which had obtained in England, and which we have seen, in a reduced form, had been established by James. The authority of the Bishops was, subject to an assembly of Presbyters. Two things were now to be accomplished—the liberation of the Bishops from their dependence on the Presbyters, and the imposition of a Liturgy. The King and his Minister were confident of success, and their confidence was in a great measure, the cause of their failure.

A Parliament was assembled and a bill was introduced to establish the Royal Prerogative, and regulate the apparel of Churchmen ; but the latter provision of the bill met with strenuous opposition, lest it should lead to the introduction of the Surplice—the most simple and decent garment that was ever worn. Such are sometimes the violent prejudices of men ! According to the custom of Scotland, the King, Lords, and Commons, sat in one House. When the question was put, the King, drawing a paper from his pocket said:

Proceedings  
of Parliament.



SECTION IV. CHAP. II. “Gentlemen, I have all your names here ; and I will know, who will do me service and who will not, this day.” The Lords expressed great anxiety to separate the two parts of the bill, and declared their willingness to give their assent to that part of it which related to the Royal Prerogative. But the King would have no distinction, and insisted that the two parts of the bill should stand or fall together. The King with his own hand entered the votes ; and when the clerk cast them up, he declared it carried in the affirmative. This result was doubted by some Members of the House ; but the King declared that the Clerk’s declaration should stand, unless some one, at the peril of his life, should accuse him at the bar of falsifying the Records of Parliament. This attempt of the King to overawe the deliberations of Parliament, was considered arbitrary and unjust ; and the tide of popular feeling was turned into the opposite extreme. A libel was immediately published, reflecting, in strong terms, on the King’s conduct, representing it as a breach of privilege and an infringement on the Rights of Parliament. This document was written by an obscure person, but being found in the possession of Lord Balmerino, he was arraigned before the Council, and actually condemned to lose his head ! It is true he was afterwards pardoned ; but he never forgot the injury. Nor was he the only one whom this Royal visit prepared for opposition to



the counsels of Government. Other acts were passed in this short Parliament, which were intended to abridge the power of the Nobility, and to enlarge the privileges of the people. The fears and jealousies of the Clergy were roused, when they heard Bishop Laud, in the Royal Chapel and in the presence of the King, enforce the advantages of Conformity, and the reverence due to the ceremonies of the Church. These impressions were confirmed, when the King, during his stay, erected and endowed a new Bishoprick in Edinburgh, and promoted several of the Bishops to offices of State; and their indignation was still further increased, when a Committee of Divines was appointed to frame a Liturgy for the Kirk of Scotland. Such was the state of things in Scotland, when the King, after an absence of five weeks, returned home; having travelled post in *four days* from Berwick to Greenwich.

Laud, still ascended, I do not say the height of ambition, but of dignity and honor. The death of the venerable Archbishop, opened a way for his preferment to the Archiepiscopal Throne. The King was too much delighted to have an opportunity of doing him honor, to hesitate a moment as to the appointment; and as soon as the Bishop appeared at Court, the King said to him, with much pleasantness—"My Lord of *Canterbury*, you are welcome." His intimate friend Doctor Juxon succeeded him in the Bishoprick of London.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

Promotion  
of Laud.  
A. D. 1633



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

## His Policy.

The power of Archbishop Laud was now too great for opposition ; and he pursued his design of aggrandizing the Church with unwearied energy and zeal. He was not only supreme in Ecclesiastical matters, but his authority extended to the Council table, the Star Chamber, and the High Commission ; nor, did he lose any opportunity of exercising his influence. He foresaw an impending storm ; and his object was to strengthen and fortify the Church, against the attack, which he saw would be inevitable. But every step he took increased the evil, and hastened its downfall. He thought the Church was to be saved by the secular arm ; and, for this purpose, he promoted the ministers of the Sanctuary to the offices of State. The country Clergy were made Justices of Peace. —The dignified Clergy councillors of State. This promotion of Ecclesiastics to civil offices, gave great umbrage to the Gentry and Nobility ; and so identified the Church and State, that their ruin was inseparable. The safety of the Church does not consist so much in the sanction and authority of the Sovereign power, as in the learning, piety, and humility of its ministers—in the purity of their doctrine and the holiness of their lives. But this system had a tendency to withdraw them from their peculiar duties—to detach them from their flocks, and to inspire them with a worldly and time-serving spirit.



In the meantime, the unwearied Archbishop, set himself to rectify the abuses of the Church.— His vigilance allowed nothing to escape him. He determined that the discipline of the Church should not only be known, but felt. He pursued all offenders against morality and propriety, with impartial severity. He spared none. The most noble and distinguished persons of the realm were cited into the High Commission Court, and punished for their vices and follies. Such was the ecclesiastical discipline of the day. But it was a mistaken notion, that private crime was to be avenged by the civil power, through the medium of the Church, which never did, and never can possess any power of coercion. The State has a right, as the representative of the body-politic, to restrain the folly and punish the vices of individuals, by civil penalties, properly defined; and that State has reached a high and noble pre-eminence, which possesses moral courage sufficient to promote the enactment and execution of such laws. But this right must be used *independent* of the Church—the weapons of whose warfare, are not “carnal, but spiritual.”

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

His impar-  
tiality.

At the period of which we are writing, the exercise of this civil discipline by the authority of the Church, brought the greatest possible odium upon the Archbishop; whose impartiality, in the discharge of his duty, need only be known to be admired and applauded. But unfortunately, whilst



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.



His mistakes.

he incurred the indignation and hatred of the worst members of the Church, who were ready, at the first opportunity, to revenge themselves upon him for their supposed injuries; he repelled from him, by an unreasonable severity, some of its wisest friends and ablest supporters. His determination to uphold, in all their strictness, his own doctrinal opinions, rendered him inexorable. He paid no deference to the opinions of others; but considered all, who did not coincide with him, as enemies to the Church. Amongst these were men, whose very names are an eulogy—Davenant, Prideaux, Brownrig, Oldsworth, Shute, Adall, &c. all of whom were the warm and enlightened defenders of the ancient government and discipline of the Church. It was a cruel mistake when such men as these, whose learning, and piety, and prudence, so eminently fitted them for building up the Church, were excluded from her councils. But he was guilty of a still greater mistake. The Lord Chief Justice Richardson, on some complaints from the Magistrates of Somersetshire, made an order for the suppression of Sunday wakes—an obnoxious remnant to this day, of the superstition and corruption of Papal times. The interference of the civil Magistrate, was considered an infringement of the Episcopal office. The Chief Justice was cited before the High Commission, and commanded to rescind his order. Nor was this all: for, when it was perceived that this con-




duct gave great offence, and caused the Puritans to condemn, with still greater severity, all customary diversions on the Lord's day, the King and his adviser with infatuated policy, ran into the opposite extreme, and in defiance of the Divine Law,—revised and re-published the “Book of Sports,” which had been promulgated in the reign of his father. It is most difficult to account for such a proceeding, in men of such high character: In all probability, it was intended to act as a check to Puritanism. But it was an expedient no less absurd than dangerous; and gave greater and more just offence than any other act of their administration. Heylin, the Chaplain and biographer of Laud, considers this act as the greatest stain upon his character; and, it is a stain of that nature, which is calculated to cast a doubt upon his orthodoxy. Holiness, is the end and object of Christianity, which does not consist in the austere formal observance of times and seasons—nor in a pharisaic attention to a system of duties; but in the willing devotion of the heart—in the *rational* application of the understanding, and in the fervent exercise of the affections on the subjects which are set before us in the Christian Revelation.—Where this habit of mind prevails, there will be a decent and cheerful attention to the external acts of Religion; but a still stricter regard to the religious operations of the mind, without which attention, acts however excellent, are mere formal

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.


 Revival of the  
Book of  
Sports,



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

injuriously to his  
Character.

exhibitions in the sight of God, who seeks those to worship him, "who worship him in spirit and in truth." But, if the will, the understanding, and the affections be engaged in the religious exercises of the Sabbath, it would be impossible for the mind to descend from the sublime contemplations of our holy Religion, to vain and frivolous, much less, to vicious indulgences. It is true, neither the King nor the Archbishop, did condescend to such practices; but they gave their sanction to them, and legalized the desecration of the Sabbath by others. The very fact is injurious to their orthodoxy, because the Author of Christianity has instructed us to judge by an infallible test, of the character of his faithful adherents.—"By their fruits ye shall know them." These fruits are the holiness of our actions.—I do not mean morality. Holiness is more than morality.—Holiness is dictated by Christian principle, and is the result of a Divine influence. Morality is built on rational principles, but it may be exercised without regard to religious, or Christian motives. Holiness includes morality—but morality does not include holiness. In one word; if our orthodoxy be genuine, it will produce the fruits of holiness. In vain shall we plead our Christian Orthodoxy, if our lives be not moral only, but holy.

Clergy  
offended.

The revival of the "Book of Sports," gave general disgust. It was generally opposed by the Clergy, whether Puritan or not. Some read the



King's declaration regarding it as the order of their superiors—others, accompanied it with the fourth Commandment by way of antidote; whilst others refused compliance. The Archbishop did not punish their refusal with his usual strictness, which shews that, he was not actuated by principle in this unfortunate business.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

At the same time, another incident occurred, which increased the national dissatisfaction. This was the prosecution of Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn—a man of considerable attainment and capacity; but a violent Partisan of the ultra-Puritan party. He brought some learning from the University of Oxford, which he improved by indefatigable industry: and being urged by a warm, enterprising spirit, he became the mouth-piece of the party, and one of the most voluminous and violent compilers, the nation ever produced. Besides his defending the Calvinian principles, he became the common censor of the times; and at last, published a wild rhapsody against stage plays and other diversions; entitled, "Histrio-mastix." This work, which consisted of a thousand pages, and filled with libellous invectives and dangerous insinuations; was highly condemned by the Court, and the Attorney General was ordered to prosecute the Author, in the "Star Chamber." Mr. Prynne was fined £5000—expelled the University of Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn—degraded and disabled from his profession in the Law—con-

Arbitrary  
measures.



SECTION demned to stand in the pillory in Westminster and  
 IV. Cheapside; and in each place to lose an ear,  
 CHAP. II. and to be imprisoned for life! but other steps  
 were already in progress which should terminate  
 the calm and tranquillity, which had so long  
 prevailed, and bring on those disastrous times,  
 which we shall soon have to consider. But still  
 all was secure. No signs had yet appeared  
 sufficiently decisive, to create a suspicion of the  
 coming storm. The King, it seems, entertained  
 no apprehension of danger; for, during the sum-  
 mer, he made a progress into the north, and  
 was royally entertained by the Duke of Newcastle,  
 at Bolsover. Alas! it was the last time they were  
 to meet under such happy auspices.

The King  
 entertained at  
 Bolsover.  
 A. D. 1634.

Origin of the  
 Ship Money.

The pretensions of the Dutch to the freedom of  
 the British seas; and the increasing insolence of  
 the Algerine pirates, made it necessary, that active  
 measures should be adopted by the English Gov-  
 ernment. In order to obtain the necessary sup-  
 plies, a project for raising money was framed by  
 Mr. Noy, Attorney General—a man of a versatile  
 genius and indefatigable industry. He possessed  
 great knowledge of ancient laws and usages, and  
 discovered wonderful skill in adapting them to his  
 purpose. On this occasion he proposed, that every  
 Sea-port and place of merchandise, should supply  
 a number of ships and men, in proportion to their  
 wealth and the importance of their trade.



Certainly it was a most ready and effectual method of raising a Fleet, and answered admirably well. But the partiality of the imposition condemned it in the first instance; for every rank in the state perceived, if the Government could, with impunity, command the ships of the merchants for its use, it might, with equal justice, lay its hands on the goods and chattels of every individual. On this ground, the measure met with great opposition, and was universally disliked. The inconvenience which arose from its being a partial tax, was easily remedied; and each County was made to bear a proportionable share. But this, instead of removing, only increased its unpopularity. It was now considered a national grievance. Nor did the general opposition arise from any essential defect or evil in the measure itself.—The tax was moderate, equitable, and efficient. But these considerations only rendered it the more formidable; for it was perceived, if a tax of this kind could be regularly levied and collected, without the consent of Parliament, the Government was independent, and the national liberties in danger. Nor could the honourable disposal of the “Ship money”—the activity of the Government, and the important public advantages which had been secured, reconcile the people to the imposition. A splendid Fleet of forty-one sail had already been fitted out, under the Earl of Lindsay, which had performed most useful service; and a second was

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

A. D. 1635.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.



now sent out under Algernon, Earl of Northumberland, created Lord High Admiral; which effectually secured the dominion of the English over the narrow seas, the right to which had been argued between the famous Mr. Selden, and, the no less famous Grotius. The work of Selden entitled, “Mare Clausum,” was highly esteemed by the King; who required one copy of it to be kept in the Council Chamber, another in the Court of Exchequer, and a third in the Court of Admiralty: and, if possible, to remove the dissatisfaction of the people, with respect to the tax, he not only desired the opinion of Mr. Selden as to its legality, but, that of the twelve Judges.

Opinion of  
Selden and the  
Judges.

A. D. 1636.

The former, from historical documents clearly proved, that the Kings of England, from the earliest periods, had been accustomed to levy money from their subjects without consent of Parliament, for providing Ships and necessary stores, for securing the naval pre-eminence of the nation. The Judges delivered the following opinion.—“We are of opinion, that, when the good and safety of the kingdom, in general, is concerned; and the kingdom *in danger*, Your Majesty may by writ, under the great seal of England, command all your subjects of this your kingdom at their charge, to provide and furnish such a number of ships and men victuals and amunition, and, for such time your Majesty may think fit, for the defence and safeguard of this kingdom from such danger and peril,



and, that, by law, your Majesty may compel the doing thereof in case of refusal or refractoriness: and we also are of opinion, that in such case, your Majesty is the sole judge both of the danger, and when and how, the same is to be prevented and avoided." The Judges who signed this document were men of high character, and generally considered men of learning and integrity. Most of them indeed, had shewn their independence on several occasions, and the Court had as often acquiesced in their opinions. Their opinion has been greatly censured by Clarendon. Whitelock attributes it to the promises and solicitations of the Chief Justice Finch, who certainly, entertained a great sympathy with the politics of the Court. But I see no necessity for imputing corrupt motives to the Judges; nor do I see any thing in the document itself, which it is necessary to condemn with such severity. Was it not the ancient prerogative of the Sovereign? Was not the prerogative of the Crown at that time undefined? nay, to the present day, the Government is invested with such a power in granting letters of marque and reprisal; and in cases of emergency, would not the Government be justified in extending their powers to a degree sufficient, to meet any danger with which the kingdom might be threatened? It is plain, that if the Government neglected at such a crisis, to use all the means at its disposal, it would fall under the displeasure of the people. The Judges founded

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.



SECTION IV. their judgment on a case of emergency—Notwithstanding, the circumstances of the times were different. A struggle was pending, in which there was a danger, lest the Royal Prerogative should triumph over the liberties of the subject; and, if such a tax as this could have been levied, at *the will of the Monarch*, that triumph, in all probability, would have been secured. But this was not to be.

Resisted by  
Hampden.

The solemn judgement of the highest legal authorities, had, in a great measure, silenced the murmurs of the people, and the tax was generally paid: but the celebrated Hampden, a gentleman of Buckinghamshire, regardless of the opinion of the Judges, and undeterred by the example of others, resolved to hazard the issue of a trial and brave the indignation of the Court. He refused to pay the obnoxious tax; and an action was brought against him in the Court of Exchequer. Great preparations were made on both sides, and the ablest advocates were employed. The Pleadings lasted twelve days, and the progress of the trial was watched with intense anxiety, by the whole British Public. The Judges gave a decision in accordance with their former opinion, which they discussed with great temper, and founded upon *precedents, necessity, and the public benefit*. But the spirit of the nation was awakened, and they plainly saw the danger with which their independence was threatened.



In the mean time, the Archbishop animated with the most patriotie views, being appointed one of the Lords of the Treasury, and perceiving how late Treasurers had risen from the rank of Gentlemen to the estates and condition of Earls, determined if possible, to raise an honest man to that eminence, especially, as it accorded with his general scheme of aggrandizing the Church. He succeeded, and Doctor Juxon, Bishop of London, was appointed Lord High Treasurer of England. But his name has a more distinguished honor attached to it—as, probably, the most faultless man recorded in the page of English History. His elevation gave great umbrage to many of the Nobility, who regarded with jealousy, the promotion of a Churchman to that high office; and they ungenerously hoped, that he would soon sink under the burden of his office. But the Archbishop who had been long and intimately acquainted with him, was not mistaken in the person he had recommended. Juxon had early addicted himself to the study of the civil Law, in which he had commenced Doctor—a circumstance which fitted him for the proper discharge of his high secular function. He possessed a solid judgment, which was adorned with an excellent temper, and mild spirit.—Every thing prospered in his hand. He found the treasury not only exhausted, but anticipated. He managed the revenue of the kingdom, with such ability and success, that he not only supported the

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.



SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.

dignity of the King's household, and the splendor of the Court, beyond all precedent, but relieved the Exchequer of all its engagements; and placed a surplus at the disposal of Government. His proceedings were characterised with calmness and circumspection; and all his contracts concluded with such justice, as to give satisfaction to all parties. His general behaviour was so wise and prudent, and his manners so mild and conciliating, that he escaped the odium, which, at that time particularly, attached itself to men in high offices of trust and dignity. Such was the impression his character produced upon the minds of men, that Lord Falkland, in a speech which he afterwards made against the Bishops in Parliament, could not but give him this testimony—"That in an unexpected place and dignity, he expressed an equal moderation and humility; being not ambitious before, nor proud after the possession, either of the Crossier or the white Staff." Hence it was, that he weathered the most dreadful storm that England had ever experienced, without any shipwreck of his reputation, or principles; and, at length, rode triumphantly into harbour. Surely, observes an accurate historian—"There never was a more fortunate pilot, nor ever a more honest man!"

But neither the exemplary conduct of the King, nor the shining qualities of his Ministers, could prevent the catastrophe that was approaching, which was to overwhelm them in the ruins of an



arbitrary policy, inconsistent with reason and justice. Every thing was done which wisdom could suggest, or power effect, to establish their political and Ecclesiastical views:—but in vain.—Every thing they did, hastened its advance.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

The trial and punishment of Prynne, which gave such disgust to the whole nation, was attended by the birth of James II, in whose reign the policy of his grandfather was to arrive at full maturity; and, in whose person, the dynasty of the Stuarts, was, by the unanimous voice of a whole people, to be banished from the throne of their ancestors; and to be attended with events, which discover, in a wonderful manner the interposition of the Most High.

View of the  
future.

During this distinguished period, Lord Wentworth, who as President of the North had shown great abilities for government in the discharge of its important duties—had been appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He found the affairs of that country in a state of the wildest confusion; but his vigorous mind soon reduced the disordered elements to order and regularity. Nothing could surpass his vigilance and activity, and his exertions were crowned with great success. He replenished the exhausted Exchequer—called a Parliament, from which he not only obtained supplies for maintaining the army, but a sum of money to discharge a debt of eighty thousand pounds of arrears, which had been advanced by

Wentworth's  
promotion.



SECTION the crown. Nor, was his attention confined to  
 IV. civil affairs, but in convocation which sat concur-

CHAP. II.

rent with the Parliament, a Canon was passed to establish "the agreement of the Church of England and Ireland, in the profession of the same Christian faith by receiving the Book of Articles of Religion agreed to by the English Convocation held in London, in the year fifteen hundred and sixty." This reception of the thirty nine articles repealed the articles of the Church of Ireland, established in sixteen hundred and twenty five, in which, according to the Lambeth Articles, the Calvinistic Theology was strongly asserted and maintained.

Further pro-  
 secutions.  
 A. D. 1637.

Whilst the tranquillity of the country was still secure, and even the Ship money was losing its influence on the public mind, the indignation of the people was once more roused, by the violent and arbitrary proceedings of the High Commission. The unfortunate Prynne was once more brought before them for a furious libel, written in his imprisonment; and which displayed more of the madman than the philosopher, designating Laud as the "arch-piety, arch-charity, arch-agent for the devil." A second criminal, was a physician, of little celebrity in his profession, but of an impetuous temper, which urged him, from a sense of supposed injuries, to write an intemperate book against the proceedings of the High Commission Court: a third, was a disappointed Clergyman;



and a fourth, was an associate of Prynne, who assisted him in the printing and publication of his writings. The proceedings of these men ought to have passed unnoticed: but arbitrary power is too fond of the exercise of its own authority, to allow any opportunity of gratifying it to escape, and by provoking opposition, prepares materials for its own destruction. In the present instance, the sentence denounced by the Star Chamber against the delinquents, was not only severe, but wanton and cruel. Prynne, as an incorrigible offender, was condemned to pay a fine of five thousand pounds, to lose the remainder of his ears in the pillory, to be branded on the cheek with the letters, *S. L.* as a schismatical libeller, and to be perpetually imprisoned. The physician, and lawyer were to undergo the same punishment, except the branding of the cheek, whilst John Lilburne, was to be whipped from the Fleet prison to Westminster Hall. They were all men of heated imagination, and ungovernable temper; but, Prynne lived to repent of his rash conduct, and often, in after times said, he wished that when they cut off his ears, they had cut off his head. Lilburne's fury had a long career. After three years under different governors, he was released from prison, and became a leveller, modeller, and a violent opposer of all who were in power, and was known by the name of *free-born John*; and, what is remarkable, after a variety of fortune, and innumerable escapes and

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.



SECTION changes, he died a *Quaker*. He appears to have  
 IV. been one of the most obstinate of men ; and it was  
 CHAP. II. a common saying, that if the world was emptied  
 of all but himself, John would be against Lilburne, and Lilburne against John.

Prosecution  
 of Bishop  
 Williams.

These proceedings gave great offence to the nation, and prepared the way for the approaching crisis ; and the general dissatisfaction was still further increased, by the prosecution of Doctor Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, whose character is well known to the reader. He had lived in seclusion from Court, for several years, but with great splendor and hospitality. He had endeavoured to heal the wounds of his country, but in vain ; and such was his reputation and ability, that he was thought a dangerous person in opposition. Both the King and the Archbishop entertained insuperable prejudices towards him. Informations were laid against him in the Star Chamber, on the slightest grounds, which involved him, for many years, in vexatious and intricate legal proceedings, attended with immense expense ; and, at length, ended in enormous fines at three different times, of eight, ten, and five thousand pounds, with imprisonment in the Tower. These violent and unjust proceedings against an eminent Prelate ; and, one, whose character stands deservedly high for patriotism, fidelity and honor, increased the general odium against the policy of the Government, and laid a foundation for future evils.



These oppressions formed a strong and powerful bond amongst all classes of the community; a new impulse was given to society, which awakened the slumbering passions of men—gave birth to a religious and political enthusiasm—produced an universal agitation, and created a power which was invincible. During the painful struggle that ensued, a new form and position of society was to be effected; and a new political order was to arise out of the general fermentation and confusion that prevailed.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

It is consolatory to reflect, that in the midst of such calamitous scenes as we are now about to traverse, we are on a progress towards a more favorable destination. It is more than consolatory to know, that, in the midst of civil strife and animosities, the Divine Benevolence is overruling the mass of licentiousness for the general good. “Ah! exclaims a French writer, “what would be the lot of the generations to follow; what the despair of him who reflects upon them, if in the chaos of human affairs, the laws of an inexhaustible Wisdom did not exhibit themselves—if in the darkest storm by which every thing appears ready to be swallowed up, the lightning of Divine Providence did not afford, through the gloom, a glimpse of a better futurity.” In strict accordance with the sentiment expressed in these lines, we cannot help but perceive, throughout this history, a tendency in the affairs of men to the better, and an approxi-



SECTION IV.  
 CHAP. II.  
 ~~~~~  
 mation towards an order of things more just and more beneficent; in which, the privileges of every one shall be better guarded, and the rights of all more equally divided.

Affairs of  
 Scotland.  
 A. D. 1637.

We have before noticed, that the Scotch nation were deeply imbued with the doctrine and discipline of the Genevese Church; but, through the persevering policy of King James and his successor, Episcopacy was formally established. It was not, however, pleasing to the people, who yet submitted themselves to the wish of their Sovereign. But the presbyters of the Church were not so docile. They strenuously resisted, what they deemed an usurpation; and after many ineffectual struggles, they yielded for the present, to the force of authority, and had recourse to other means, which, though slower in operation, laid the foundation for a desperate and successful resistance. They instituted private fasts in their congregations, on which occasions, they inveighed against the evils to be apprehended from Episcopacy, and all its dependencies; and, in their prayers, earnestly supplicated deliverance from an imposition, which they considered tyrannical and oppressive.

Origin of the  
 Fanaticism.

These religious exercises had an immense influence on the minds of the vulgar, who, at length, together with their presbyters, became possessed with a belief of their own suggestions, and imbued with a rigid and fanatical zeal against all in-



novations on the Presbyterian discipline. But there were still more powerful elements at work.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

The Bishops who had been appointed during the present reign, by Court interest, were rash and imprudent; and, influenced by the arbitrary policy which obtained in England, acted in opposition to the advice of the senior Bishops, who had been elected during the preceding reign by their fellow Bishops, for their wisdom and worth. Add to these self-destructive measures, the grasping avarice of the Nobility; whose opposition was roused, when they saw the confiscated revenues of the Clergy, about to be wrested from them; whilst their jealousy was still-further increased by the frequent appointment of the Bishops to the highest civil offices; a policy which it was thought had a tendency to strengthen and consolidate the Ecclesiastical power. Alas! the King and his advisers fondly imagined, they were building a goodly fabric, which should be able to resist the force of any storm which might be directed against it; but, like the wall of "untempered mortar" it was doomed to fall, and, in the tremendous rush, to overwhelm all engaged in its construction. Every step they took, discovered their infatuation.

Whilst Scotland was in this state of mind, a book of canons was published by the King's sole authority; and in which the observance of the Liturgy was commanded, a year before its completion! This imprudent haste gave timely warning.

Publication  
of the Canons.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

Violent  
Opposition.

A universal clamour was raised against the Bishops. They were considered as instruments of the English Archbishop, and it was represented that their intention was, to introduce the “Mass Book” into the Scottish Church. Such was the ignorance upon which the clamour was founded. The spirit of opposition spread like lightning, and it was perceived by all prudent men, that a rupture was inevitable, should the imposition of a Liturgy be attempted. Spotiswood the Archbishop of St. Andrew’s, with the rest of the senior Bishops, represented their apprehensions to the King; and, in all probability, their advice would have been acted upon, had it not been for the treachery of the Earl of Traquair, Lord High Treasurer, who insisted that there was no danger, and, that the work should proceed. His treachery was to prevail. The Liturgy was sent, with peremptory orders to carry it through; whilst the younger Bishops, encouraged by the apparently zealous conduct of the Lord Treasurer, omitted all considerations of prudence; and, obtaining an act of Council without any ecclesiastical sanction, hastened to impose it. By this injudicious step, the Clergy, who were the friends of the Episcopal order, were seriously offended: and, to crown the whole, instead of introducing it in the remoter Dioceses, where little or no opposition was expected, they determined to act with boldness, and to introduce it at once, into the principal Church of Edinburgh.



Things being in this position, consultations were held by the opposing party, how they should commence their opposition, and rouse the people to an effectual resistance. The most active persons, at this period, were two Presbyters of the names of Henderson and Dick, and amongst the laity, Lord Balmerino and Sir Thomas Hope, the King's Advocate. These persons having arranged their measures for the reception of the Liturgy, it was determined to await the result.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

The day appointed for the introduction of the prescribed formulary, was Sunday the twenty-third of July. On that morning, the most splendid and numerous auditory that ever adorned the walls of the great Church, were assembled to witness the solemnity. The Dean, arrayed in the surplice, proceeded to the reading of the Liturgy.—This was the signal for tumult and confusion; the lower sort of people, and, especially the women, uttered loud execrations against the innovators: and it is reported that, one *Janet Geddes*, in her religious fury, threw a stool at the head of the Dean, vociferating,—“Dost thou say Mass in my very lug?” The venerable Archbishop endeavoured to restore order; but in vain. The civil Authorities were obliged to interfere, and the violent rabble were ejected from the Church. Still, the greatest tumult prevailed, without. The doors were pelted, and the windows broken with stones, and the heavens were rent with cries of—“a Pope! a

Circumstances  
which attended  
the imposition  
of the Liturgy.



SECTION Pope! Antichrist! pull him down! stone him!"

IV.

CHAP. II.

—Similar scenes of riot and confusion took place in all the Churches; and the Bishop of Edinburgh, whilst returning home, with great difficulty escaped the fury of the enraged multitude. The profound ignorance on which these proceedings were founded, is abundantly manifest: but, what are we to think of the tone and language of their Presbyters, who from their pulpits declared "*that God, even to a miracle had graciously prospered the work of Reformation, at the very commencement?*"

But the real actors in these transactions soon began to appear. A petition was presented to the Council against the Service Book, by Henderson and Dick; and another to the same import by the Earls of Rothes, Lothian, Egglinton, and the Lords Lindsay, Loudon, Balmerino, and others. Both petitions were received by the Lord Treasurer with a complacency suited to his treachery, whilst Sir Thomas Hope, the King's Advocate, secretly advised and directed their motions.

The King's  
Proclamation.

On the seventeenth of October, the day on which the Council promised an answer, Edinburgh was filled with a conflux of people from all parts; but, instead of such an answer as they expected, a Proclamation was made by order of the King, commanding all men to return to their homes on pain of rebellion, and forbidding all matters respecting religion to be discussed at the Council board. The next day great crowds of women collected,



who pursued the Bishop of Galloway with bitter curses to the door of the Council. The multitude and tumult increased every moment; till, at length the lives of all the obnoxious members of the Council, were in the most imminent danger—the people crying out, with as much sense and good reason as the people of Ephesus, on a similar occasion. “God, defend those that defend God’s cause! God, confound the Service Book and all the maintainers of it!”—an imprecation, which it required the whole civil force to prevent being immediately put into execution.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

This success at Edinburgh encouraged the dissentients throughout the kingdom, and every hour added to their strength. The King’s Proclamation was disregarded, through the connivance of the Lord Treasurer and Sir Thomas Hope, and propositions were made by the heads of the party to the assembled Presbyters, not to be satisfied with the abolition of the Service Book, but to insist on the ejection of the Bishops. They were alarmed at the proposal; but, at length, overcome by threats or won by promises, a petition to that effect was subscribed and presented to the Council. The seventeenth of November was fixed for an answer.

Further Proceedings.

On that day still greater multitudes assembled, and, amongst them the Earl of Montrose, whose appearance, from his known abilities and influence, presaged a threatening storm. A Proclamation was made of the most condescending and gracious

The Earl of Montrose joins the disaffected



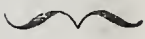
SECTION character, assuring them—"How unwilling he  
 IV. was, that his loyal subjects should be possessed  
 CHAP. II. with groundless doubts and fears, touching their  
 religion: that as he abhorred all superstitions of  
 Popery; so he would be most careful, that no-  
 thing should be allowed within his dominions, but  
 that which should most tend towards the advance-  
 ment of the true Religion, as it is now professed  
 within his ancient kingdom of Scotland; and that  
 nothing was or should be done therein against the  
 laudable laws of that, his native kingdom."

A new form  
 of Government, Other Proclamations of the same conciliatory  
 character were issued in quick succession, but to  
 no purpose. Counter protestations were made,  
 and armed men began to make their appearance in  
 the Capital, and amongst others, threatened the  
 life of the excellent Archbishop. Never was a  
 project managed with greater art and subtlety;  
 and such was their activity, that in a few days a  
 new form of Government, of a most formidable  
 character, embodying the principles of a civil and  
 ecclesiastical Oligarchy, was established.

Established in  
 Scotland.  
 A D. 1638.

This Government consisted of four distinct *tables*  
 or classes at Edinburgh—Noblemen, Barons, Bur-  
 gesses, and Ministers. All matters connected  
 with their enterprise, was considered at each table  
 and was afterwards debated and concluded upon  
 at a *General Table*, which consisted of a select  
 number of Commissioners out of all the rest. In  
 this manner was framed the celebrated SCOTCH



COVENANT, under this ingenious and subtle title. SECTION  
 “The *Confession of Faith*, of the Kirk of Scotland, IV.  
 subscribed at first by the King’s Majesty and  CHAP. II.  
 his household, in the year 1580, with a GENERAL  
 BAND for maintenance of the *true Religion and the*  
*King’s person*: and now subscribed in the year,  
 1638, by us Barons, Gentlemen, Burgesses, Min-  
 isters, and Commons under subscribing, together,  
 with our resolutions and promises.”

The “BAND” was adapted to the present occasion, and formed the basis of the “COVENANT,” in which they abjured not only the *Liturgy* and *Canons*, but the *Episcopal Government*; and bound themselves to defend each other against all persons whatsoever in its defence.

This was the famous SCOTCH COVENANT, Confirmed  
 the original of which is preserved in the Library by the Cove-  
 of Trinity College, Cambridge, which laid the nant.  
 foundation for civil war, and in the end proved  
 justly fatal, as well to its friends as its enemies.  
 It was publicly read, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the people on the first of March; and its observance was ratified by the solemn oath of all the subjects of Scotland. Never did any human contrivance, in so short a time, so effectually change the forms of an established Government, and produce such remarkable effects. It was actually considered by its projectors as a DIVINE INSTRUMENT, and almost adored. *Mr. Cant*, the Presbyter, whose name well accords with his



SECTION doings, in his sermon at Glasgow told the people,

IV.

CHAP. II.

*“ He was sent to them with a commission from Christ, to bid them subscribe, it being Christ’s contract : that he would not depart till he had got the names of all refusers, of whom he would complain to his Master.”*

The Principle  
by which they  
were actuated.

To us, who are at liberty to consider these transactions with impartiality, this appears little short of blasphemy ; and, indeed, it is this false religious colouring, which can alone account for the wild, and furious, and barbarous conduct of its adherents, who, like the Mahommedans, were prepared to extend their faith with their sword in one hand, and their law in the other. The principle which actuated the Scotch Covenanters, was the spirit of *Fanaticism*, caused, by adopting a rule of action founded on religious pretensions, unwarranted by Revelation ; and the actions generated by this false principle, were such as might be expected ; but, directly at variance with the spirit of Christianity.—Christianity is simple, honest, sincere ; and every deviation from it must produce its legitimate effects. Superstition, on the one hand, falls below its requirements, and is sordid and degrading. Fanaticism breaks loose from its commands, and, is wild and rampant. Superstition, to use the words of a living Author, rides an *Ass*—Fanaticism a *Tiger*.

The true spirit of the enterprise soon began to make its appearance. Every indignity and injury



were heaped upon those who refused to subscribe the Covenant. Persuasion was followed by compulsion; and the Liberty of the Gospel enforced by blows and imprisonment! The good old Archbishop Spotiswood, fearing the hand of violence, fled. His example was followed by the rest of the Bishops, except four: and of these, three saved themselves by recantation; but Guthrey, Bishop of Murray, with admirable firmness, refused either to fly or recant; but patiently endured excommunication and imprisonment—maintaining his integrity, and justifying the Episcopal form of Government to the day of his death.

SECTION  
IV.

CHAP. II.

The dangerous state of affairs in Scotland could no longer be concealed; and on the ninth of June the Marquis of Hamilton, whose character was “dark and deceitful as the Ocean,” arrived at Berwick, commissioned with full powers to treat with the Covenanters. Had he been a faithful servant, in all probability the future calamities, which now impended over the two nations, might have been prevented; but, the unsuspecting confidence of the King was misplaced. The Marquis at the Council-board conducted the King’s business with every appearance of zeal and impartiality.—But Bishop Guthrey, who could have no temptation to falsify, states, that after the business of the Council table was concluded, he took the delegates of the Covenanters, the Earls of Rothes and Morton, Lord Loudon, and the three ministers,

Treachery of  
the Marquis of  
Hamilton



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.



Henderson, Dick and Cant, into the gallery, and spoke in the following manner :—" My Lords and Gentlemen, I spoke to you before those Lords of the Council, as the King's Commissioner ; now, there being none present but yourselves, I speak to you as a kindly Scotchman : If you go on with courage and resolution, you will carry what you please ; but if you faint and give ground in the least, you are undone :—a word is enough to wise men."

The King's  
Proposals

Many fruitless conferences were held, till, at last, the Marquis arrived for the third time at Edinburgh, and proposed, on behalf of the King, the revival of the old Confession of faith and Covenant signed by King James, A. D. 1580. The proposal was accepted and signed by the Council and the Marquis, as the King's Commissioner. A Proclamation was also made, by which, the Canons, the Service Book, and the High Commission were discharged ; and a General Assembly appointed to sit on the twenty-first day of November.

Rejected.

These were great concessions ; and, probably, as much as the Marquis and the majority of the Scotch Nobility intended ; and all moderate men hoped that matters would now be composed. But it was otherwise. The evils which prevailed, and the disordered state of the public mind, required a long and tedious purgation. The King's offer was magnanimous ; every thing was granted that wis-



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

dom and prudence could demand, or that the most patriotic King could be expected to give. But the furious Covenanters instigated by their leaders, rose in a tumultuous manner, proceeded to the market cross; and, with drawn swords in their hands, published a vehement protestation against the acts of the Council; and urged by a *fanatical impulse*, attributed a sort of infallibility to their own Covenant and Band; affirming: “*It was approved from Heaven with rare and undeniable instances;*” whilst on the Sunday, violent declamations were made against the King’s declaration, branding it with infamy, as “*the depth and policy of Satan.*”

It is remarkable, and worthy of serious reflection, how the extremes of error meet. The infallibility of the adherents of Rome, was now claimed by the disciples of Geneva! So dangerous is it, for men to swerve from the established principles of reason and common sense, and, so nearly are Superstition and Fanaticism allied!

Strange  
Coincidence.

Dismay now took possession of the hearts of all loyal and peaceable subjects, inasmuch as they saw, that the designs of the popular leaders were desperate;—and this impression was more fully confirmed by the conduct of the Lord Lorn, the influence of whose House extended over five counties. This nobleman, who soon after succeeded his father as the Earl of Argyle, and professed, like many others, to stand with the King,

The Lord  
Lorn.



SECTION but secretly corresponded with his enemies.—

IV.

CHAP. II.

made use of to secure the election of the most furious and enthusiastic Covenanters, as Commissioners in the approaching assembly. The pulpits resounded with the most furious discourses, and all who subscribed the King's declaration were denounced, as "perjured villains" and enemies to their country. In short, nothing was left untried: another Joan of Arc, in the person of a female, named Michelson, was brought before the people; and her ravings were imposed upon the credulity of the ignorant as the dictates of inspiration. She was accompanied by Rolloch a Presbyter of the Church, who declared, "*That God spoke through her;*" whilst she, constantly, affirmed, "*that it was revealed to her from God, that their Covenant was approved from Heaven!*"

Conduct of  
the Assembly.

At the meeting of the Assembly, every thing was carried in the most tumultuous manner. Henderson was appointed moderator; and such was the insolent demeanor of the Members, that the Marquis of Hamilton, who acted as the King's Commissioner, was obliged to dissolve the Assembly. But to no purpose—They still continued their sitting; and entered a solemn protestation, against the conduct of the Commissioner, in which they asserted, "*that for the King to countermand their sitting, was to prejudice the Prerogative of Jesus Christ, and the liberties of the Kirk!*"—a



doctrine, surely, only suited to the meridian of Rome. When the self-continued Assembly rose, with all imaginable composure, they dispatched a letter to the King, which he laid before his Scotch council, who unanimously declared it was “a very *humble and discreet document*,” which induced the King to receive it, and declare his intention of going to York, to take into consideration the affairs of Scotland. In the mean time, every species of falsehood was resorted to, to inflame the minds of the people; and to induce them to believe, that the King was “laying traps” for them: and that he was making “preparations for war.” These false rumours prevailed; a conventional meeting was called.—War was determined upon, and General Lesley was appointed Commander in Chief—a man of great experience in war, which he had gained in Germany.

The false and fanatical fury of the people, now led them into every extravagance. Every moral evil was perpetrated under the mask of Religion. The Presbyters of the Church, given up to the delusion of their own errors, raged like the false Oracles of ancient times; and in their addresses from the pulpit, put forth the most indefensible and unchristian statements. Those who refused to subscribe to the Covenant, were forbidden the Sacrament and stigmatized, even as “Atheists:” whilst the people were taught “*the necessity of bearing Arms against the King, on pain of perjury and dam-*

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.



*nation.” One exhorted the people “never to be quiet till they had the King in their power;” and, another declared, “that the Judgments of God would never leave the land till all the Bishops were hanged up before the Lord, like the seven sons of Saul.”*

In all reason, the declaration of war, and their whole conduct was little short of madness; and, must have brought upon them swift destruction, had it not been for the craft of their policy, and the treachery and dissimulation of the Scotchmen who surrounded the person of the King, and acted the part of spies. Never was a King so betrayed; and, never, were insincerity, cunning, and stratagem, so powerfully contrasted with honor, integrity, and good faith.

War, of course, was now inevitable. But, Charles was not only a beneficent man; but a merciful King: and in his preparations for war, had nothing more in view, than by a display of his strength, to reduce the Scots to obedience.

Power of  
England,  
A. D. 1639.

Such, indeed, was the wealth and power of England, that, in a very short time, he raised the finest army that ever attended a King of England into Scotland. Most of the Nobility, and the flower of the Country waited upon the King, at their own expense: whilst at sea, he was attended by a powerful Fleet. The Earl of Arundel, a staunch royalist, but of no experience in war, was appointed General, and the Earl of Essex, a person of high reputation, and the most popular Noble-



man of the day, was made Lieutenant General ; but any thing that might have been achieved by the fidelity and prowess of these two individuals, was counterbalanced, by the unhappy appointment of the Earl of Holland, General of the Horse ; and of the Marquis of Hamilton, Admiral of the fleet.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

This powerful array was sufficient at that juncture, to have trampled Scotland under-foot, from one end to the other ; and to have made a complete conquest of the whole kingdom. But the Scots never intended any such display of English valour. They had provided other weapons of warfare, more powerful than swords and bucklers—Disimulation, treachery, deceit and falsehood.

Subtle Policy  
of the Scots.

When the King arrived at York, his Court was immediately thronged with Scotchmen, who exercised every art that subtlety could suggest, to avert the impending storm, without yielding one jot or tittle of the success, which had hitherto attended their enterprise. They represented the *good intentions* of their countrymen, and their sincere loyalty to their King : and insinuated to the English nobility, that the destruction of the Scotch army, would enable the King to command more than they would like to obey. The Earls of Roxburgh and Traquair, were said to be deeply concerned in fomenting discord and jealousy amongst the English leaders. Their arts prevailed ; for when the Council intimated their suspicions to the

The King  
at York.



SECTION IV. King, he would not believe that he could be betrayed by men, of whose honour and integrity he always entertained the strongest opinion.

CHAP. II.

Oath of  
fidelity imposed.

But the Council was not so scrupulous; and, observing a manifest disaffection in many of the English nobility, it was determined, before leaving York, that a short declaration should be made on oath, in which all were made to profess their loyalty and obedience; and to disclaim having any intelligence or holding any correspondence with the enemy. The Scots, without hesitation, took the oath: but, the Lords Say, and Brooke, two popular English Noblemen, refused; and were committed to the custody of the Sheriffs of York; but afterwards, through the extreme lenity of the King, dismissed to their own houses.

False rumours.

A preliminary step was now taken; and the Earl of Essex was despatched with a body of horse and foot, to take possession of the town of Berwick. This movement had the appearance of energy, and the Earl was beset by the Scotch nobility, who endeavoured to perplex and delay him, by pretended rumours, and false intelligence; but like a true soldier, he refused to listen to the report of difficulty and danger, and nobly disdained to attend to any thing but the execution of his duty. He entered the town of Berwick, without the appearance or intention of resistance.

The Earl immediately acquainted the King with the false representations, which had been made to



him by persons of eminence about him; but unabashed by such an exposure, they covered their falsehood by further dissimulation; and pretended that they could scarcely believe the despatches of the Lieutenant General. The King considered their conduct as the result of timidity—a reproach they were willing to incur, so that they might prevent all suspicion, from rising in the King's breast.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

As the Armies were now approaching, the Scots who were directed in their motions by those about the King, sent the most humble and submissive messages to the King; professing “*the loyalty of their hearts and affections, and desiring nothing so much as to lay their grievances at his Royal feet, and leave the determination of them to his own wisdom and pleasure.*”

False professions.

On the thirtieth of May, the Earl of Holland, with a sufficient force, was ordered to dislodge General Lesley from the town of Duncce, of which he had possessed himself with a body of six thousand men. But the Earl returned without striking a blow—a mode of warfare which he adopted afterwards on two several occasions, which leads to the conclusion that he was playing a part, and renders it necessary to brand him either as a coward or traitor. His future conduct will shew.

Conduct of the Earl of Holland.

The same unheard of treachery was acted by the Marquis of Hamilton, at sea. He arrived at Leith with twenty ships of the line; and, instead



SECTION of active operations he spent his time in fruitless  
 IV. correspondence with the Earl of Rothes, the Lords  
 CHAP. II. Lindsay and Loudon, and other leading Covenant-  
 ters: and whilst lying in the Frith, he received a  
 visit from his mother, a rigid Covenanter, which  
 led the people on shore to remark; "They knew  
 the Son of so gude a Mother, could never hurt  
 them." They were modest in their conclusions.  
 He did more: he possessed the King with the  
 danger to be apprehended from the further prose-  
 cution of the war; and betrayed his master by  
 inducing him to listen to overtures, which were as  
 remarkable for their meanness as their insincerity.

New insolence  
 of the Scots

Such indeed, was their insolence at this jun-  
 ture, and so secure were they of acting with im-  
 punity, that they sent letters to the English No-  
 bility at Court, and even to the three Generals  
 Arundel, Holland, and Essex. The latter noble-  
 man as in duty bound, sent his letter to the King.  
 This was perhaps what they expected. The con-  
 tents of the letter were couched in the most sub-  
 missive terms. They alledged *they had no intention  
 of waging war against England—but of defending  
 their just rights and privileges, that their main griev-  
 ance was the interest of the Marquis of Hamilton,  
 (a deep disguise!) and that they desired by his  
 means to be admitted to his Majesty's presence.*

During these proceedings, the King discovered  
 all the generosity, honor, and clemency of his  
 character; and his determination, if possible, to



avoid the shedding of blood. But all these shining virtues, whilst they gain by the contrast, were exercised in vain. His forbearing policy, whilst it laid him open to the treacherous designs of the Scots, threw a damp over the ardor of his own forces. The soldiers and seamen became weary of acting a farce in which they plainly saw, that neither reward nor honor was to be gained. The Generals grew indifferent; and all men began to vacillate. We will not dare to say, that the virtues of the Monarch were his misfortune. No doubt, his conduct was approved and registered in Heaven; and, we shall find in the end, that those, who by their wicked arts, imposed upon their high-minded and gracious Sovereign, brought upon themselves an ample retribution.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

At length, Commissioners were appointed on both sides, to treat of a Pacification; and after five or six days debate, they agreed upon nearly the same conditions, as those before granted by the King—that all ecclesiastical matters should be managed by the Kirk; and all civil matters, by Parliament: and that within forty-eight hours the Scots should disband their army, and restore to the King all the castles and forts of the kingdom. —Terms highly dishonorable to the King, who, by giving up all the management of civil affairs to the Parliament, virtually disannulled the Monarchy; and laid the foundation for all his future difficulties. Charles was not wanting in courage,

Pacification  
concluded upon



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.



nor energy of character, nor in a just discrimination of right and wrong ; nor, can we account for a step, in which he sacrificed his own just prerogative, except on the ground of **EXPEDIENCY** ; hoping that a future opportunity would be offered for rectifying the error—a most fallacious ground, which should never be taken, under any necessity, by a wise Statesman—a rule which Charles himself lived to learn, and died to establish.

The King's  
imprudence.

Regardless of the manifest advantage which had been gained by the Scots, the King, overjoyed by the termination of the war, hastened to disband his army, which he did with such precipitancy as greatly to disoblige his friends. Even the Earl of Essex, whose fidelity was unblemished, was dismissed in the crowd. The Gentry, who had served the King at great cost and expence to themselves, were unalterably offended. Feuds and factions prevailed at Court ; and the King discovered, that he had in this expedition, lost both reputation and authority ; whilst the perfidious Scots, who had now engaged in a religious Crusade, as soon as they found the King's army disbanded, openly disclaimed the Pacification—published the most scandalous and malicious libels, and dismissed only a fragment of their army, retaining all their officers in pay, and ready at a moment's warning.

The King was now sensible of his error ; but the mischief was done, and was irretrievable. He was so indignant at their breach of treaty, that he



resolved not to appear, as he intended, at the General Assembly, which was indicted for the month of August, and appointed the Earl of Traquair, the most versatile man in Scotland, as his Commissioner. Mr. Dick was elected moderator. Every thing was carried their own way;—and in five days, they concluded their business by confirming what had been agreed upon in the Assembly of Glasgow—the extirpation of Episcopacy—the abolition of the five Articles of Perth, the High Commission, the Liturgy, the Book of Canons, and the Ratification of the Covenant.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

General As-  
sembly meets,

The Parliament which succeeded, not only confirmed the decision of the Assembly, but proceeded to make fresh demands upon the patience of their insulted Sovereign. They required that the coin should be regulated by the advice of Parliament; that no Foreigner should command any of their Castles, and that no honor should be granted to a stranger who possessed not a competent estate in Scotland. The King hearing of their exorbitant demands, sent immediate orders to his Commissioner to prorogue the sitting. This was answered by a protestation on the part of Parliament—a remonstrance was immediately framed, and the Earl of Dunfermline, and Lord Loudon, were deputed to present it to the King.

and  
Parliament.

The scene now changes to England, and opens with the arrival of the Scotch Commissioners to assure the King of the “*integrity and fidelity*” of

Commission-  
ers arrive in  
London.



SECTION their countrymen! At their particular request, the King condescended to be present at the Committee which had been appointed to meet them.—

IV.

CHAP. II.

Mr. Colvil,  
bearer of a let-  
ter to the  
French King.

After the Lord Loudon, a man of bold language, had justified, in strong terms, the proceedings of the Assembly and Parliament—the King drew from his pocket a letter which had been intercepted, directed to the King of France. This letter, which contained a petition to the French King for aid, was in the hand-writing of Loudon. With all imaginable effrontery he confessed and justified it, on the ground that it was written before the articles of the Pacification were signed. The treason was so manifest that the King's Council were obliged to commit him and Colvil to the Tower; and, had they been brought to a speedy trial, the circumstance would have brought great discredit on the Scots, and proved a powerful check on their proceedings. But, unhappily, the King's clemency and the law of *expediency* again prevailed.

Conduct of  
France.

The tragedy now rapidly developes, and events occurred which began to portend a fatal termination to the contest. The Cardinal Richelieu, whose fertile mind was teeming with fresh projects had formed a design against the maritime towns of Flanders; and sent over the Count D'Estrades to secure the neutrality of Charles, which was peremptorily refused—a circumstance which determined the conduct of the French Court, in the pending struggle; and shut out from the King all



effectual aid from France. Nor was this all.—The wary Scots secured the countenance of the Cardinal—appointed one of his secretaries a residence in Scotland—received his Chaplain as a counselor and associate, from whom they had assurance of arms and ammunition, and assistance proportionable to their enterprise. The Scots also entered into a correspondence with Holland, for supplies of arms ; and were busily engaged in promoting their interest and raising forces in Germany,

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

A. D. 1635.

The King was not unacquainted with their preparations, and roused himself to manly exertions. He saw that his clemency had been misplaced.—The Earl of Strafford, who was a host in himself, was summoned from Ireland, to attend his Councils at this important juncture. But his hour was past. He had exercised arbitrary power with too much confidence ; and, in his turn was about to experience all the cruelty of popular licentiousness. On his first arrival, as if to counterpoise any advantage which might have been derived from his superior abilities, Sir H. Vane, through the influence of the Queen and Hamilton, was appointed Secretary of State ; a man of no abilities, but a busy, subtle Courtier, always consulting his own interest, and changing at every turn of fortune. The appointment was highly disagreeable to the Earl of Strafford, whose arrival, filled with apprehension, the minds of all who were plotting against the peace of their country.

Earl of Strafford arrives from Ireland.



SECTION IV. A Parliament was summoned to meet on the thirteenth of April, which had been preceded by one in Ireland, under the management of the Lord Lieutenant, and considerable supplies had been granted with the greatest readiness, accompanied with a loyal address, in which they took occasion to thank the King *for placing over them so just, wise, vigilant and profitable a Governor.*

CHAP. II.  
A Parliament  
determined  
upon

A. D. 1640.

Such was the posture of affairs at the meeting of the fourth Parliament in this reign, after an intermission of almost twelve years. They certainly entered upon their business with greater temper and moderation than any of their predecessors; whilst their spirit and independence were admirable. Whilst they failed not to impress upon the King, the necessity of redressing grievances, they manifested the sincerest affection for his person, and loyalty to the throne; and were proceeding to the immediate granting of supplies, which was of extreme importance, when the hopes of the King and the nation were blasted by the treachery of an individual in the King's Council—Sir H. Vane. Let his name descend with execration to posterity.

The King's  
Message for a  
supply of about  
£800,000.

The King had proposed, by his Secretary, that on granting him twelve subsidies, he would not only forego the levying of Ship-money, but agree to its entire abolition; and that he would not only attend at present, to the redress of grievances, but appoint a Session, the following Michaelmas, for that purpose. A long debate ensued when Hamp-



den who watched his opportunity, put the question in a manner in which he knew it could not be passed, because it would justify the levying of Ship money—"Whether the House would consent to the proposition as contained in the King's message." Serjeant Lenthall, the Speaker, a man of unquestionable abilities and patriotism, in a speech distinguished by eloquence and good sense, moved the house *to comply with his Majesty's desire for the good of the nation, and to reconcile him to Parliaments for ever*. His manly oratory had a powerful effect on the House; and Mr. Hyde proposed that the Question should be merely for a supply; and, that afterwards, they should proceed to the consideration of the amount. A great clamour was raised by Hampden's party, but the Question was put and carried on Mr. Hyde's proposition; when Sir H. Vane stood up and declared; "He had authority to tell them, that if they passed a vote for a supply, and not in the proportion and manner proposed in his Majesty's message, it would not be accepted by him; therefore, he desired, that the question might be laid aside."

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

Treachery of  
Sir H. Vane,

This one step was pregnant with inconceivable evils. The malice which dictated it, is unfathomable. The King, afterwards, denied that he had given him any such authority, and stated, that he had given him orders to descend to six subsidies, rather than make a breach; and Strafford had given as his advice, rather to relinquish all, than to



SECTION bring on a crisis at that conjuncture. To complete  
 IV. the mischief which he had begun, he went to the  
 CHAP. II. King that night, falsely represented the feeling  
 of the Commons; and persuaded him to believe,  
 that it was in vain to expect any money from them

and Mr. Herbert the King's Solicitor. against the Scots. He was seconded in these mis-  
 representations by the King's Solicitor; and these  
 two persons, and, these only, for reasons yet un-  
 known to the world, induced the King to dissolve  
 the Parliament, which was done next day, with  
 great haste and precipitation. The King soon  
 found that he had committed a mistake, expressed  
 his resentment against Sir H. Vane, and even en-  
 quired whether the Members might not be re-  
 called by Proclamation. But it was impossible;  
 and the course of events hastened to the goal.

Convocation. The Convocation still continued to sit, and  
 besides voting supplies to the King, concluded  
 upon several new Canons and an oath for uphold-  
 ing the Government of the Church of England.  
 These proceedings of Convocation gave great of-  
 fence to the factious and discontented. London  
 was filled with scandalous libels, chiefly by the  
 old offenders Prynne and Lilburne. The house  
 of the Archbishop was surrounded at midnight  
 by an infuriated rabble, and his life was only  
 preserved by a strong military guard which had  
 been provided.

An army of twenty thousand men was now  
 raised and the King resolved upon a second ex-



pedition into Scotland. The great difficulty was to support such an army. His treasury was not only exhausted but anticipated. But to shew the strength of the Monarchy, and, how easy it would have been, at that time, to have rectified the disorders of the State, it will only be necessary to observe, that in the space of three weeks, the sum of £300,000 was supplied to the King by the willing contributions of the nobility and gentry.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

Another error was committed. In the choice of a general, the Earl of Essex who had faithfully served the King in the last expedition, was passed by, and the chief command entrusted to the Earl of Northumberland, whose pride was only equalled by his stupidity. The Earl of Strafford was appointed Lieutenant General, and Lord Conway, General of the Horse, a man without conduct or courage.

Earl of Essex  
disobliged.

Meanwhile the Scots, with the most unconquerable duplicity, declared the "intentions of the army"—assuring the good people of England, that they had no design either to waste their goods or spoil their country, but to become petitioners to the King his Majesty; whereas, at the moment, their leaders believed themselves under a written engagement to assist the English Nobility, in effecting a change of Government in England. The document, indeed, was forged, but this circumstance was unknown to the Scots, at that time.—The Scotch army had already begun their march

Declaration  
of the Scotch  
Army.



SECTION under General Lesley and the Earl Moreton; and, were suffered to enter Newcastle, by Lord Conway who had sufficient force, if he had had courage, to have prevented it. There, having obtained such comfortable quarters, they shewed their tender regard for the goods of the people of England, by demanding a contribution of £800, a day, out of Northumberland, the Bishoprick of Durham and the town of Newcastle!

IV.

CHAP. II.

The King in great difficulty, The King's head quarters were at York, where he had to contend with every possible difficulty. The uncertainty and distraction created by the contending opinions of different parties—disaffection in the army—remonstrances from England, and the knowledge of an empty Treasury.

Calls a Convention of Peers.

In this emergency he determined upon a grand Convention of the Peers—the resort of the Monarch in cases of sudden exigency. The result of their deliberations was to call a Parliament, and send Commissioners to the Scotch army, to treat of a Pacification; and, in order to suit the temper of their political invaders, it was determined that eighteen of the most popular Noblemen should be deputed, for the purpose of managing this important mission, a business for which they were eminently unfitted.

It was observed that the Scotch Commissioners paid the most marked attention to the Earls of Bedford, Essex, Holland and the Lord Mandeville, which these Noblemen received with an indiffer-



ence which greatly perplexed them. Renewed efforts were made to gain from them some explanation of their conduct; but to no purpose, till, at length, the Scots upbraided them with not standing to their engagement. This led to an *eclaircissement*. It was discovered that Saville, for the purpose of strengthening the Scotch in their resolution, had presented them with a forged instrument, to which he had attached the names of those Lords. The Scots laboured under such difficulties, by the failure of those supplies which they expected from their supposed confederates, that they once designed to retreat within their own borders, and cast themselves upon his Majesty's grace and mercy. But though not so formally invited as they believed, yet they found sufficient encouragement amongst the English Commissioners, whom they wrought upon by their specious pretences, still to remain. Upon what a trembling balance, at this moment, hung all the mighty consequences that followed this irruption of the Scots, which had actually been undertaken on the faith of a forged instrument!

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

The Lord  
Saville's for-  
gery.

The English Noblemen, thoroughly imposed upon by the plausible reasoning of the Scotch Commissioners; and led astray from their duty, by promising to themselves some advantage from the alterations which might happen, returned to their Sovereign magnifying the loyalty of the Scots. The King was not imposed upon, but

English  
Commissioners  
deceived.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.



overruled by circumstances. The same Noblemen were again dispatched, to conclude upon a cessation of arms ; and, in a few days, as they had predetermined, came to an agreement, in which, by a just retribution, they sealed their own destruction in that of their country. The terms were, that the Scots should retire beyond the Tees ; that the sum of £850, a day should be granted them, and the Treaty adjourned to London ; by which, every thing was gained to their cause. It was at this time, that the Earl of Montrose, disgusted at their conduct, deserted the cause of the Covenanters, and wrote a letter to the King expressive of his loyalty and affection.

Great evils  
ensue.

The Scotch Commissioners, in London, were made the rallying point of all the disaffected in England. They became the missionaries of the Covenanters. Multitudes of people, of all ranks, resorted to them ; to whom, with great expressions of loyalty, they freely dispensed their counsel and advice. Such was the influence they obtained in a short time, that it is said, the common people almost idolized them ; considering them the repositories of divine Truth. So easily are the minds of men imposed upon by a bold inculcation of the most extravagant and dangerous opinions. The Brownists or Independents, of whom we have already spoken, the only remnant of dissenters in the kingdom, now flocked from all parts, and filled the city with uproar and confusion.



The ancient Episcopacy was clamoured against as tyrannical and oppressive; and the rites of the Church denounced as burdensome and superstitious; whilst a book was published against bowing at the name of Jesus—entitled “Jesus-worship refuted!” Astonishing blindness! which shewed to what lengths of folly the unbridled passions of men were urging them at that period; and by what a fearful reaction, the Divine author of Christianity was about to punish the Governors of the Church and State, for their mal-administration!

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

The adherents of the Popedom, also, increased the general distraction, both by their forward loyalty and their secret plots. Whilst the treacherous Scots were vilifying the Archbishop of Canterbury, and, in their manifestos accusing him of Popery, and condemning him as the chief author of all their grievances; the Papists were seeking his ruin and that of the King, for the obstinacy with which they maintained the Church of England, against their pretensions.

The King, wearied with perpetual disappointments, harrassed by the conflicting opinions of his own Counsellors, prevented from action by the want of supplies, and influenced by the integrity and sincerity of his motives, summoned his fifth Parliament. Charles, at this juncture, did not apprehend the least danger to his royal authority. Seated in the hearts of his people, as he firmly believed, and confident in the divine right of the

Fifth Parlia-  
ment 5th Nov.  
A. D. 1640.



SECTION royal Prerogative, he fearlessly cast himself upon  
 IV. the affections of his subjects. Nor was he decei-  
 CHAP. II. ved. Never was a Monarch more justly beloved  
 by his people ; but circumstances conspired to  
 render their affection inoperative and abortive.

A formidable  
 Conspiracy. A confederacy, consisting of the most active  
 spirits of the age, had for some time been formed  
 —not to injure their King—but to change the form  
 of Government; and it will now be necessary to  
 bring those persons before the reader. The lead-  
 ers of the party were Lord Say, Lord Kimbolton,  
 Mr. Hampden, Mr. Pym, Mr. Stroude, and Mr.  
 Knightley. Their operations were very extensive.  
 Mr. Hampden was in the habit of paying an an-  
 nual visit to the friends of their cause in Scotland,  
 and Mr. Pym performed the same office, through  
 the counties of England. They held frequent con-  
 sultations, both in London and the country.—  
 Broughton Hall, the seat of Lord Say, was the  
 chief place of rendezvous, where they had a secret  
 apartment, approached by a private passage, into  
 which the servants of the establishment were never  
 permitted to enter. Long before the calling of  
 this Parliament, their schemes were finally ar-  
 ranged ; nor must the general feature of their plan  
 be omitted, as it was undoubtedly, amongst the  
 ruling causes of the catastrophe of this reign.

Plan of the  
 Conspirators. Their favorite maxim, upon which the whole  
 theory of their government rested, was : “ That all  
 empire was founded in Property,” from which,



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

however solid the axiom may be, they very erroneously, in our opinion, proceeded to reason—that as the Kings of England, by the alienation of the Crown Revenues, had lost a great portion of their *natural* power, they concluded that on that account they ought to be deprived of a considerable portion of their REGAL authority. They proposed to accomplish this, by cutting off four great branches of the Royal Prerogative, which they termed the *magnalia* of Government. *The absolute power of making War and Peace—The sole disposal and ordering of the Militia.—The nomination of all offices of trust and emolument.—The right of disposing of the common Revenues of the Crown.* To manage these important trusts, four distinct Councils were to be appointed, all of which, as well as the creation of the Nobility, were to be fixed and directed by Parliament, which was to meet annually, for the dispatch of business.

This was the plan by which these eminent and patriotic men, proposed to themselves, not only to redress the existing evils of the State, but to provide a remedy against their recurrence. In carrying their scheme into execution, and making use of the means which circumstances provided, they not only failed of their enterprise, but involved themselves, their King and their Country, in one common and tremendous ruin. Results, surely, which they never contemplated; but of which, they were the unhappy instruments; and they

The source  
of great calam-  
ities.



SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.

stand forth as an awful warning to all projectors, of the futility of attempting sudden changes in government; and, makes it manifest, that as the great institutions of a State, can only be formed by time and experience, so they must be re-modelled and adjusted in the same gradual manner as the wants of the society require.

Temper of  
Parliament.

From the first meeting of Parliament, neither temper nor moderation was observed. The leading members were now determined, at all risks, to pursue their measures. Committees were formed for the consideration of grievances, and many violent speeches were made, which sufficiently declared the temper of the House. Their first act was unprecedented in the custom of Parliament. They proceeded to expel from the House, all those members who received emolument from monopolies which were held under the King's Patent; and, to shew that they were in earnest, they followed up their first step, by the impeachment of the Earl of Strafford—a blow little anticipated by the confiding Monarch.

Strafford im-  
peached.

Mr. Pym, his implacable enemy, who was appointed to carry up the impeachment to the Lords, entered the House, a few minutes after the Earl had taken his place, and, in the name of the Commons of England, impeached him of high treason; and he was immediately given into the custody of the Usher of the black rod. Having now got the noble criminal into their power, they determined



upon his destruction; but his great abilities, his matchless integrity, and unshaken fidelity were almost insurmountable obstacles in their way; but they were prepared to use every means, however dishonourable, to effect their purpose: and they were so elated with the success of their first movement, that they voted a gratuity of £50,000, to the Scotch army, in addition to the grant of £850 a day.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

The next project of the House was, to remove the Archbishop of Canterbury from the Councils of the King; and, as a preparatory step, the King was desired to release Bishop Williams from confinement. This eminent Prelate, on appearing in the House of Peers, was astonished to find such heats and animosities among the differing parties; nor did his conduct give less astonishment to the House, who expected that he would immediately have joined himself to the discontented party; but so firm and patriotic were his principles, that he sacrificed the good opinion of the popular party to the love of his Country.

Conduct of  
Bishop Wil-  
liams, and

At the same time, those notorious culprits, Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick were released, and brought to London in triumph, amidst the shouts of the multitude, who mingled their acclamations of joy with loud execrations of the Bishops who had *persecuted such godly men!* and, to increase the effect, they were conducted to Westminster, and allowed to present their petitions against their prosecutors, at the Bar of the House.

of others.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

The Scotch  
Commissioners  
attack the  
Church,

These inflammatory proceedings produced a great influence upon the public mind. The Commons declared the utter illegality of the Ship-money, and proceeded to mark out the Lord Keeper, Falkland, and the Secretary Windebank for destruction; who, to escape the threatened storm, fled. The Scotch Commissioners were lodged in the heart of the City, in a house adjoining St. Antholin's Church, the gallery of which communicated with their lodgings. This place they used as a rostrum for publishing their sentiments on all subjects; especially, for inveighing against the Bishops and the ceremonies of the Church. The harangues of their Chaplains, were daily attended by great multitudes of people; and on a Sunday, from morning to night. Such, indeed, was the state of things, that the Scotch Commissioners seem to have given law to England; and, at length, published a manifesto, desiring Parliament to inflict condign punishment on the Earl of Strafford, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, as "the great criminals of the Nation."

Followed by  
Alderman  
Pennington.

The passions of men under such stimulants became ungovernable, and, by a strange fatality, through the specious representations of foreign emissaries, their hands were turned against their best friends, and, eventually, against themselves. Alderman Pennington, with a great multitude of the rabble, presented a petition signed by fifteen thousand persons, requiring the extirpation



of Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and the whole hierarchy of the Church—a wholesale extirpation, which even astounded a Parliament, many of whose members were prepared for extreme measures. The petition, however, was not rejected lest it should dishearten their friends, and its ultra-violence prepared the way for whatever the enemies of the Church desired. The canons which were made in the late Convocation, were vehemently attacked; and, it was declared unlawful, for the Clergy to make canons, or ecclesiastical constitutions without the consent of Parliament.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

This was the prelude to the persecution of the Archbishop, who, on the eighteenth of December, was impeached by Denzil Hollis, in the name of the Commons of England, and committed close prisoner to the Tower.

The Archbishop seized.

But the King was still on the throne; and the innovating leaders in the two Houses saw, that the moment had arrived when a grand movement should be made, to secure for themselves the seats of power, from which others had been displaced by their influence. Intimations, therefore, were sent to the King at York, through the Marquis of Hamilton, who had secured his interest with both parties, that as the King had expressed his desire for a Reformation, he would shew his sincerity by taking to his Councils those men, who were known to be friendly to it. This suggestion was cheerfully acceded to; and, on one day, the Earls of

The Conspirators advanced to Power.



SECTION Hertford, Bedford, Essex, and Bristol, and the  
 IV. Lords Say, Saville, and Kimbolton, were sworn  
 CHAP. II. privy Counsellors. Provision was also made for  
 the satisfaction of Pym, Hampden, and the other  
 conspirators, but which was never effected, except  
 in the case of Mr. Oliver St. John, one of the most  
 inveterate of the party, who was appointed Attor-  
 ney General. The consequences of these appoint-  
 ments soon made their appearance.

Conduct of  
 Parliament  
 displeasing,

Whilst the impeachment of the Earl of Strafford  
 was pending, the House of Commons with great  
 propriety, proceeded to secure the kingdom from  
 the disuse of Parliaments, by bringing in the Tri-  
 ennial Bill, which was certainly a great measure,  
 and absolutely necessary to give stability to the  
 institutions of the Country; but instead of voting  
 supplies for the King, they took care of their con-  
 federates: and voted “*A friendly assistance and  
 relief towards the supplies of the losses and necessi-  
 ties of the Scots!*”

to the King

Such a proceeding was necessarily, displeasing  
 to the King, who summoned the two Houses to  
 meet him in the banquetting hall; on which occa-  
 sion he made concessions sufficient to have recon-  
 ciled all reasonable men, and which would have  
 entirely satisfied the former Parliament. But the  
 leading members were now too sensible of their  
 vast influence, and determined to secure every ad-  
 vantage they could, from the King's necessities.  
 Their league with the Scotch Commissioners, be-




came every day more manifest, who now presented to the House what they were pleased to call their “modest demands.”

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.


 Modest demand.

The chief of these demands were, that the King should not employ any person in offices of trust, or grant them access to his person without the consent of Parliament—that, full indemnity should be made to the Scots for all their expenses and losses during the confusion; which last item, when the Commissioners desired to see it in writing, amounted to £954,128 9s. in addition to their £850, a day—a “*modest demand*,” upon which Sir Jarvis Hollis, a member of considerable weight in the house freely observed—“Our younger brother of Scotland, like Jacob, seems to supplant us and take away our birthright. No man had a more charitable construction of their intentions than I had, while they made their addresses in humble distance, as becoming subjects to their Sovereign; But now, Sir, when I see them swell in their demands beyond all proportion: When I hear them enlarge upon their first proposition, and require things unfit for the King to grant, and dishonourable for this nation to suffer, I cannot but fix a mark of danger upon them. I fear we have nourished in our bosom, those, who will sting us to death!”

But, for this speech—eminently prophetic of the future—the honourable Member was expelled the House! It was now evident which way the cur-

 Tyranny of  
the Parlia-  
ment.



SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.

rent was tending. Debates ensued on the subject of Episcopacy, and the Pennington Petition ; on which occasion, it was finely observed by Mr. Grimstone : “That Bishops exist, *Jure Divino*, is a question : that Archbishops are not *Jure Divino* is out of question. Now, that Bishops which are questioned whether they are *Jure Divino*, and Archbishops which out of question, are not *Jure Divino*, should suspend Presbyters that are *Jure Divino*, I leave to your consideration.” Upon which, it was still more finely retorted by the learned and ingenious Mr. Selden :—“That the Convocation is *Jure Divino*, is a question, that Parliaments are not *Jure Divino* is out of question ; that Religion is *Jure Divino*, there is no question ; Now, that the Convocation which is questionable whether *Jure Divino*, and Parliaments which out of question are not *Jure Divino*, should meddle with Religion which, questionless, is *Jure Divino*, I leave to your consideration.” To which, Mr. Grimstone replied, “But, Mr. Speaker, Archbishops are not Bishops.” To which Mr. Selden, briefly answered—That, Mr. Speaker, is no otherwise true, than that Judges are not Lawyers, and Aldermen no Citizens.”

Bill for Triennial Parliaments.

After impeaching Judge Berkley, one of the Judges who gave his opinion in favour of Ship money, the Commons agreed to a money Bill, which received the Royal assent, together with the Bill for TRIENNIAL PARLIAMENTS—an important



event in the annals of our Constitution, and which the King in the immortal work, entitled “Eikon Basilike,” declares he did WILLINGLY.\* The passing of this measure was received with universal satisfaction, attended with lighting of bonfires, ringing of bells, and every other demonstration of popular joy. The two Houses were so sensible of the boon which they had obtained, that they returned thanks to the King, by the Lord Keeper —“for having now *sufficiently* provided for the security of the Commonwealth; and, that there remained nothing to be done, but such a return of duty and gratitude, as might testify their duty to his Majesty, and that their *only end* was, to make him a GLORIOUS KING.”

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

There was now a pause in the National Drama —as if the Supreme Being in his abounding compassion, allowed a moment for reflection, that if possible, the minds of men might have been subdued to reason and moderation. But there was no intention of this kind in the popular leaders; and the fatal Balance, which by the disposition of its descending scales, was to give permission or not, for the exercise of their violent and disordered passions, was placed in the hands of the King. Had

A solemn  
Crisis.

\* “That the world might be fully confirmed in my purposes, at first, to contribute what I could in justice, reason, honour, and conscience, to the happy success of this Parliament, I willingly passed the Bill for Triennial Parliaments; which as gentle and seasonable medicine, might, if well applied, prevent any distemper from getting any plea or prevailing.”



SECTION IV. he dissolved or even prorogued the Parliament, it is impossible to say what might have followed; but to all human appearance, the lives of Strafford and Laud would have been saved, and all the future disorders of the State, avoided: but, on reviewing the circumstances of his condition, and weighing contending evils, he determined to continue the session of Parliament, and the course of events forthwith rushed to their accomplishment.

CHAP. II.

Impeachment  
of the Earl of  
Strafford,  
22 Mar, 1641.

The Commons were now intent upon the impeachment of the Earl of Strafford; but, such were the difficulties they had to contend with, that the necessary preparations cost them four months of incessant labour and debate. At length, on Thursday the twentieth of March, the proceedings of this important trial were opened in Westminster Hall. At seven o'clock in the morning the Earl landed at the stairs, attended by a very strong guard. Never was "the pomp and circumstance" of Justice on a more magnificent scale. On each side, were arranged the Members of the lower House, and above them, a gallery was erected for the Scotch Commissioners and the Lords of Scotland; and in the centre, were the Peers of England. In front of the Peers, was a platform erected for the Earl himself, and, towards the end of the Hall was a chair of state for the King, with a covered gallery for the Queen and Ladies of rank. Whilst for the occasion, the Earl of Arundel was created Lord High Steward; and the Earl of Lindsay,



Lord High Constable. The Earl of Strafford, on his entrance, walked to his place with a firm and manly step. His person was tall, and his appearance majestic. He was habited in black, with his "George," suspended by a gold chain. His elocution was clear—his manner polished, and his arguments ready and convincing. The managers of his impeachment were the most able Lawyers, and eloquent Members of the Commons—Pym, Whitelock, Oliver St. John, Digby and Hampden.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

The charge against the Earl was opened at great length, by Mr. Pym. His harangue was a kind of exaggerated history of his actions whilst President of the North, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland—a detail, which in the hands of a favouring advocate, would have redounded to his honor, by exhibiting the acts of a vigorous administration, conducted with admirable ability. In the execution of such high and difficult trusts, it was impossible that acts should not take place, oppressive indeed to individual interests, but necessary for the public good. These were magnified by his accusers, as flagrant instances of tyranny and oppression.

Accused of

The Earl was called upon to give distinct answers to every particular allegation; and, because no one charge amounted to an act of treason—a new term was invented. All the charges were added together, and the whole was termed "Accumulative Treason"—the absurdity of which, is

Accumulative  
Treason.



SECTION manifest, as the noble Earl himself observed :  
 IV. “ *Accumulation* is a word taken from the Latin  
 CHAP. II. *Cumulus*, a heap of corn, so called because some,  
 at least, of the individual parts are such ; but how  
 could that be called a heap of corn, in which there  
 was not one single grain.”

A new charge preferred, After the Earl of Strafford had effectually answered all the articles brought against him, the Commons put in a claim to offer additional evidence on the last article “ that he had advised the King to land the Irish forces in England.” At this part of the trial Sir H. Vane and his Son acted a conspicuous and despicable part. It was pretended that the latter, in the absence of his father, being entrusted with his keys, had found the fragment of a paper containing notes, which as Secretary, his father had taken at the Council table, amongst which, a remark to that effect, appeared to have been made by the Earl of Strafford.

without Effect. The Earl shewed the improbability of such a charge, from the circumstance, that there never existed any necessity for landing the Irish troops in England. Whilst the King, who had condescended to give his attendance throughout the trial, affirmed, that he never had any intention of bringing in the Irish army : and that he was *never advised* so to do.

Indeed the whole trial, which lasted eighteen days, was conducted on the part of his accusers,




with every species of injustice which the malice and ingenuity of the mind of man could invent.— But at length, the Earl having answered their additional evidence, and being interrogated by the Earl Marshal, he spoke to the following effect,—

“My Lords, I here stand charged with Accumulative, or constructive Treason, a word unknown to the common law, statute law, or Practice; and which was never heard of from the beginning of this Government till this time; so that I am questioned for my life and honour, upon a law that cannot be shewn. Jesu! Where has this fire lain hid so many hundred years, without smoke to discover it, till it thus burst forth to consume me and my posterity? It is extremely hard that punishment should precede promulgation of a law; what man then can be safe? especially, when there is no token set, by which he should know his offence, no admonition by which he should avoid it. If a man upon the Thames split his boat upon an anchor, and it has a buoy floating to discover it, he is to charge his own non-observance; but if it has none, the owner of the anchor is to pay the damage. My Lords be pleased to shew that regard to the Peerage of England, as never to expose yourselves to such constructive interpretations of Laws; if there must be a trial of invention, let the subject be of something less than the lives and honours of the Nobility: therefore cast into the fire these bloody and mysterious volumes

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.


  
 Strafford's  
 defence.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.



of *constructive treason*, as the primitive Christians did their books of curious arts, and betake yourselves to the plain letters of our laws ; without being ambitious of being more learned in the art of killing, than our forefathers. It is now two hundred and forty years, since any man was touched for this alleged crime, let us not awaken those sleeping lions to our own destruction, by raising up a few musty records, that have lain so many ages neglected and forgotten. Do not through me, wound the interest of the Commonwealth, nor put such insuperable difficulties upon Ministers of State, that men of wisdom, honour and fortune, cannot safely be employed by the public : if you weigh and examine them by grains and scruples, the affairs of the kingdom will lie waste, no man will concern himself, who has any thing to lose. My Lords, I would not have troubled you so long, were it not for the interest of these dear pledges, which a saint in heaven has left me." At this, his breath stopped, and he melted into tears for a short space ; then recovering himself, he proceeded,—“ What I forfeit as to my own ruinous cottage, is nothing ; but that my indiscretion should extend to my posterity, wounds me to the very soul : you will pardon my infirmity. Something I should have added, but my voice and spirits fail me—only I have learned that the afflictions of this present life, are not to be compared to the eternal weight of glory which shall be revealed hereafter,



and so My Lords, with all tranquillity of mind, I freely submit myself to your judgment; and, whether that judgment be of life or death, 'te Deum laudamus;' then, lifting up his hands and eyes, prayed—'In te Domine, confido; ne confundar in æternum.'"

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

Thus ended the trial of this great man, from which the Commons retired with shame and defeat, inasmuch as it was well understood; that the Lords would not, on such grounds, give judgment against him. But with a malice and resolution, which nothing could defeat, they determined to proceed by way of attainder, in the preparation of which, they would have none but themselves to consult. Accordingly, on the twenty-third of April, the Bill of Attainder was read a third time. During the discussion, the doors of the House were locked, when the Lord Digby, whose high honor and rectitude shewed him to be the worthy son of such a father as the Earl of Bristol, made use of the following remarkable words—"In prosecution we are accountable only for our industry or remissness; but, in *Judging* we are responsible to God for our rectitude or obliquity. In cases of life, the Judge is God's steward of the party's blood, and must give a strict account for every drop."

The Commons change their ground of attack.

From this time, Lord Digby who had stood so high, sunk in the estimation of the Commons, and became the object of their jealousy and hatred

Lord Digby disgraced.



SECTION —a circumstance which shews the *unchristian*  
 IV. spirit with which they were actuated.

CHAP. II.

Conduct of  
 the Earl of  
 Essex.

This was thought a fitting opportunity for the suppression of the Presidency of the North, when every act of mal-administration, was brought forward and exaggerated, to the prejudice of the Earl of Strafford. Great efforts, however, were made by some of the leading men on both sides, from a deep conviction of his innocence, to save the unfortunate Earl. But in vain. The Earl of Essex had now taken a decided part in the politics of the day, and had thrown his great abilities into the popular scale, which gave it a fearful preponderance. He was decidedly the leading man in the House of Lords ; and, in the case of the Earl of Strafford, he was inexorable. To some private representations of Mr. Hyde, who suggested that the Earl of Strafford might be proscribed from ever hereafter taking any part in public affairs, he sternly and proverbially replied: “ *stone dead has no fellow :* ” and, afterwards, when the same Gentleman was commissioned by the Earl of Bedford, the most powerful and moderate Nobleman of the party, to intercede with him, and to point out the impropriety of urging the King to warrant the execution of a man, against the solemn dictates of his conscience, he ventured upon a declaration at once base and unconstitutional: “ *The King in conscience, was obliged to conform himself and his opinions, to the advice and conscience of his Parliament.* ”



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

Notwithstanding, the Bill of Attainder did not make its way through the House of Lords. There was still too great a sense of honor and justice in that dignified assembly; and, to remove their legal scruples, a conference was held, in which the King's Solicitor General, Mr. St. John, in the presence of the King, Lords, and Commons, argued the legality of the Bill. Never was there a more determined and implacable persecutor: and, for some of the positions which he advanced, ought if justice had been done, to have been made to change places with the prisoner. At one time he averred, "*That in the way of Bill, private satisfaction to each man's conscience was sufficient, if no evidence, at all, had been given.*" And at another he said: "*We do, indeed, give law to hares and deer, because they are beasts of chase; but it was never counted cruelty or foul play, to knock wolves or foxes on the head, as they could be found, because they are beasts of prey.*"

The King, perceiving that in all probability he would be called upon to give his assent to this Bill, ventured upon a bold step; and, in a conference with the two Houses declared, that if the Bill of attainder should pass, he could not in conscience, give his assent to it, as he had been present from the first to the last, and felt assured that no proof of treason existed against him. He said he had no desire to screen him from any punishment, which might be due to him, for conducting

The King's  
conduct.



SECTION IV. himself with pride or impetuosity : and hoped they would be satisfied with *his Promise, that he never should serve him in any office whatever.*

CHAP. II.

A pretence  
for Agitation.

This was a most unfortunate step, and every thing which the enemies of the Earl could wish ; and, it is supposed that the King was urged to it by the Lord Say, who was now an aspirant for the highest offices of the state, and well knew the effect it would produce. Accordingly, as soon as the King had left the House, the greatest clamour prevailed, and the House of Commons with great vehemence declared, that the King's conduct was a most unparalleled breach of privilege. This afforded then a ground for agitation ; and being resolved upon the death of Strafford they determined to gain by clamour, what they now perceived they could not obtain at the tribunal of justice.

Conduct of  
the Presbyteri-  
ans.

Every effort was made to rouse the multitude. The ultra-Puritan clergy who hailed the Scotch Reformation, in their pulpit addresses, vehemently insisted upon the necessity of Justice on certain delinquents. This was the signal for new outrages. The common people assembled in vast crowds, demanding "*Execution.*" The great ring-leader of these rioters was Cornelius Burgess, a Presbyterian of the Church, and a Doctor of Divinity, who to his infamy was accustomed to boast—"*These are my Band-Dogs, I can set them on, and call them off again as I please.*"



The Members of Parliament debased themselves by mingling at night with the lowest of the people in their club houses, and exasperating them by their harangues. They went so far, as even to post up in all the public places of the city, the names of those in both houses who opposed the Bill of Attainder under the Title of “STRAFFORDIANS and ENEMIES TO THEIR COUNTRY.”

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.  
Disgraceful  
methods to se-  
cure

During these proceedings the Earl of Bedford, having been promised the office of Lord High Treasurer, had undertaken to use his utmost endeavours to save the Earl of Strafford. But his own days were numbered, and he died of the small pox before the fate of Strafford was decided.

In order to promote their designs the Commons pretended, that new designs were on foot for their destruction, and a ridiculous accident effectually served their purpose. Whilst Mr. Middleton and Mr. Wray two very corpulent men were standing up in the gallery to hear the debate—a board in the floor giving way with a great crash, a member cried out, that he smelt gunpowder, and the whole house was thrown into confusion: the people in the lobby, without waiting for further evidence, rushed into the street; and spread the report, that the house was blown up with gunpowder. The alarm spread from one end of the city to the other: the drums beat—the train bands were marched down to the House; and all men seemed concerned in the fate of their representatives.


the passing of  
the Bill



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.



of Attainder.

From this circumstance, simple as it may appear, the House perceived the influence it possessed, and determined to use it. The friends of the Earl of Strafford were alarmed, and deterred from attending in both Houses—the Bill of Attainder was passed, being carried by seven votes in a House of forty-five Members.

The difficulty, now, was to obtain the King's consent. For this purpose an address was presented to him by the two Houses, whilst crowds of people were tumultuously assembled in the front of the Palace, vociferating Justice! Justice!

The uncertainty of the King's mind,

All this was a cruel mockery, and a profanation of all that is sacred amongst men; and was sure to bring down a signal vengeance upon the heads of all concerned in it. The King called his council: they referred him to the Bishops to satisfy his conscience: the Bishops referred him to the Judges to satisfy him as to its legality. All were overawed; and no person had courage to give an unbiassed opinion. Bishop Juxon alone, remained invincible in his integrity; and nobly told the King—“*that he ought to do nothing with an unsatisfied conscience upon any consideration in the world.*”

resolved by the Earl himself.

At this juncture, when the struggle in the King's breast was most violent, the Earl of Strafford, understanding how the King was harassed and perplexed by the importunities of honor and conscience on one side; and on the other, with the



fear of such a public rupture, as seemed to threaten destruction to himself and his family—wrote a letter to his Majesty, which stands unrivalled amongst the records of antiquity for its sublime heroism and patriotism. The following are the concluding words :

“Sir, my consent, herein, shall more acquit you to God, than all the world can do besides. To a willing man there is no injury done. And by God’s grace I forgive all the world with a calmness and meekness of infinite contentment to my dislodging soul ; so, Sir, to you I can give the life of this world with all the cheerfulness imaginable, in the just acknowledgment of your exceeding favours.”

That night, at a late hour, overcome with fatigue and anxiety, and alarmed with incessant rumours of tumult and insurrection, the King signed the fatal Bill which delivered the Earl to the will of his enemies ; and it is a remarkable fact—so as to mark the avenging hand of Heaven—that at the same time he passed another bill, overlooked in the hurry and anxiety of the moment, as of no consequence ; but which, was destined to bring ruin upon all concerned in the shedding of innocent blood. This was a bill for perpetuating the sitting of the existing Parliament.

The Bill is passed, with a remarkable accompaniment.

The King’s mind now gave way to relenting and melancholy reflections ; and he wrote a most pathetic letter to the Lords—craving, if possible,

The King endeavours to save the Earl

SECTION  
IV.

CHAP. II.



SECTION IV. CHAP. II. the life of Strafford, even at the price of perpetual imprisonment. This letter was written with his own hand, and delivered to the House by the young Prince, as the first favor he asked of Parliament. The letter was received with a solemn respect, but the Lords refused their intercession and influence.

who prepares for Execution, Nothing now remained to be done, and the Earl prepared himself for death, in which he was assisted by the advice and counsel of Archbishop Usher. But he was not to die undisturbed by the solicitations of his enemies. A message was conveyed to him by his brother-in-law, Mr. Daniel Hollis a leading member of the House of Commons—that “*if he would employ his power and credit with the King, for taking EPISCOPACY out of the Church, he should yet have his life ;*” to which, without hesitation he replied—“*that he would not buy his life at so dear a rate.*”

which takes place on the 12th of May, A. D. 1641. On the morning of his execution, attended by his friends and several noblemen and persons of quality, he proceeded with a firm step towards the place of execution. On approaching the windows of the Archbishop of Canterbury, he said to the Lieutenant of the Tower: “Although I do not see the Archbishop as I have hoped, *pray give me leave to pay my last observance towards his Rooms ;*” but the Archbishop, being advised of his approach, immediately presented himself, upon which the Earl making a profound bow said ; “*my*



*Lord, your prayers and your blessing!"* The Archbishop lifted up his hands to heaven, and with great feeling and devotion bestowed both; but unable to support the sudden effort, he sank down on the floor of his apartment.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

The Earl proceeded, and with a serene and steady countenance ascended the scaffold. Observing his brother, Sir George Wentworth in tears, he said: "Brother what do you see in me to deserve these tears? does my servile fear betray my guilt, or, my assuming boldness any atheism. Never did I throw off my clothes with more freedom and content, than in this preparation for my grave. That stock must be my pillow; here, shall I rest from all my labours; no thoughts of envy, no dreams of treason, jealousy of foes, cares for the King, the state or myself, shall interrupt this easy sleep. Therefore, Brother, pity my enemies, who, contrary to their intentions, have made me blessed; rejoice in my innocence; rejoice in my happiness!" Then, kneeling down on the scaffold, and addressing those around him, he concluded with a solemn protestation of his innocence: "Gentlemen," he said, "I hope you believe that neither the fear of loss or love of fame, will suffer me to belie God and my own conscience at this time: I am now in the very door going out, and my next step must be from time to eternity, either of peace or pain. To clear myself before you all—I do here solemnly call God to witness,

Conduct of  
Strafford on  
the scaffold.



SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.

*I am not guilty, so far as I can understand, of the great crime laid to my charge; nor ever had the least inclination or intention to damnify or prejudice the King, the state, the laws, or the religion of this kingdom, but with my best endeavours to serve all, and support all, SO MAY GOD BE MERCIFUL TO MY SOUL!"*

Then rising up, with a kind of prophetic spirit, he addressed himself to the people in the following striking manner: "I am come here by the will and pleasure of God, to pay the last debt I owe to sin, which is death, and to submit to that judgment which has been passed upon me, which I do with a quiet and contented mind. I thank God, I freely forgive all the world: and I thank God, I can truly say, that in all the employments I have had the honour to serve his Majesty, I never had any thing in my intentions, but what tended to the joint and individual prosperity of King and people; though it has been my ill fortune to be misunderstood. There is one thing in which I desire to clear myself: I did always think the Parliaments of England the happiest constitution that any kingdom lived under, and next under God, the best means to make the King and his people happy; so far have I been, from being against Parliaments. For my death, I here acquit all the world, and beseech the God of heaven heartily to forgive them that contrived it; though in the intentions of my heart I am not guilty of what I die



for. I wish this kingdom all the prosperity and happiness in the world : I ever did it living, and now dying it is my prayer. Yet I earnestly desire every one that hears me to consider seriously, whether the reformation of a kingdom should be written in letters of blood : Let me never be so unhappy, as that the least drop of my blood should rise up in judgment against any one of you : I acquit you all, but fear you are in a dangerous road. My Lord Primate, I here profess, and with that I shall conclude, that I die a true and obedient son to the Church of England in which I was born and educated ; Peace and prosperity be ever with it ! I desire heartily the forgiveness of every one, for any rash and unadvised act, or for any thing done amiss, and so my Lords and Gentlemen farewell ! Farewell all things of this world !”

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

Having concluded his address, he continued in prayer and supplication for a considerable time, when rising from his knees and turning to his brother, he said : “ Carry my blessing to my eldest son and charge him from me, that he fear God, continue an obedient son of the Church of England and a faithful subject of the King—that he entertain no private revenge against any on my account, and charge him to beware not to meddle with Church livings, for that will prove a moth and canker to him in his estate.” He continued :—“ One stroke will make my disconsolate wife, husbandless ; my dear children, fatherless ; and my



SECTION poor servants, masterless; and separate me from  
 IV. my dear brother and all my friends, but let God  
 CHAP. II. be to you and them, 'ALL IN ALL.'"

These were his last words: for, after he had several times recommended his soul to the mercies of God, with Christian magnanimity he submitted his neck to the stroke of the executioner, who at one blow, severed his head from his body.

The Earl of  
 Strafford a vic-  
 tim

Thus fell, through the despotic power of popular violence, like some tall cedar of the forest, the first subject of the land in power, wealth and wisdom; of whom Archbishop Usher declared—"that in all his life he never knew any layman, that so fully understood matters of Divinity; and, that his resolution was no less firm than good." And Cardinal Richelieu was so sensible of his abilities, that he said: "*The English people were so foolish, that they could not let their wisest head stand upon its own shoulders.*"

of lawless power  
 and popular  
 aggression,

But what law or reason can ever exist in the arbitrary dictates of the popular will? Calumny and falsehood are its vital food: Folly and insolence are the expounders of its laws. It knows no shame; and fearless of punishment, it spurns at the claims of dignity and authority, and rather than not attain its purpose, it will wade through the blood of its friends as well as its foes. "It operates alike to debase and corrupt, till there are neither men left with the spirit to desire liberty, nor morals with the power to sustain it."\* This

\* Fisher Ames, an American writer.



irresponsible power having broken through the barriers of *lawful restraint* was now in the ascendant, and, hastening to run its course of anarchy, vice, madness, and unavailing remorse.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

The Bill which rendered the sitting of Parliament perpetual, was gained under the most specious pretences. It was alleged, that as great sums of money had been advanced for the public necessity, on the credit of the House of Commons, the creditors of the State began to express their fears lest the Parliament should be dissolved, and thus, to refuse further advances of money. When the Bill was brought up to the House of Lords, that assembly, very prudently, wished to fix its continuance for a limited period, two, three, or five years, on which Mr. St. John, the manager for the House of Commons, very pathetically exclaimed: "God forbid, that we should be forced to sit one year. But if the Bill pass for an indefinite time, we shall have credit to disband the armies, and satisfy all debts; and when the Act is passed, we shall *quickly* dispatch both." To this premeditated design of subverting the Constitution, the House of Lords fatally acceded; and the King, as we have seen, in the hour of his agony, gave his assent to it.

Obtained by  
artifice,

The mischiefs which followed this extraordinary concession were beyond repair, and distinctly marks that infatuation which precedes national destruction or punishment. The House of Com-

and exercised  
with tyranny,



SECTION IV. CHAP. II. mons instantly became the dominant power, and the form of the English Government was essentially changed. Within a few days after the fall of Strafford, many of the first officers of State resigned. Cottington was succeeded in the Mastership of the Wards by the Lord Say—Bishop Juxon as Lord Treasurer, by five Commissioners—the Earl of Northumberland as governor of the Prince by the Marquis of Hertford. The Earl of Leicester was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and the Earl of Essex, Lord High Chamberlain.

to the destruc-  
tion of Church  
and State.

Things now rapidly took their *necessary* course. The Commons armed with irresponsible power, now approached the sacred citadel of the Church; and, at this juncture, by a striking coincidence, Oliver Cromwell, who was destined to become the GENIUS of the MOVEMENT, again appears on the stage. During the debate for depriving the Bishops of their votes in the upper House, when great doubts prevailed as to the course they should pursue, this remarkable person said to Sir Thomas Checkley and Mr. Warwick: “*I can tell you Sirs, what I would not have, though I cannot tell you what I would.*” This Bill had been rejected by the Lords with great decision before the death of Strafford; but the Commons, re-inforced by their newly acquired power, proceeded in order to gratify their Presbyterian allies, with a Bill for the abolition of the Bishops: but, for the present, they were obliged to content themselves with



fixing the brand of impeachment on thirteen of their order, who, in consequence, were committed to the Tower.

SECTION  
IV.

CHAP. II.

Various Re-  
forms.

In quick succession, Bills were passed for abolishing tonnage and poundage—the Courts of the Star Chamber and High Commission, which had been the main instruments of oppressing the liberties of the subject, and exercising the late arbitrary acts of the executive power.

It is supposed, that, at this time, a design was formed by some of the officers of the English army to stand by the remaining prerogatives of the Crown; and to humble the arrogance of the Commons. Colonel Goring, a man of great courage, but practised in every art of falsehood, was the chief instigator of the Plot; and, after engaging many distinguished officers into the scheme, he suddenly communicated the whole subject to the House. The most exaggerated reports were immediately circulated respecting the project; and the Lord Digby, for attempting to invalidate the testimony of Goring, was publicly expelled the House.

Goring's  
Conspiracy.

Such was still the confidence of the King, and his perfect reliance upon the good will of the people, that on the resignation of the Earl of Northumberland, he appointed the Earl of Holland general of the Army; determining to visit Scotland in person, and to be present in their ensuing Parliament. It was a most patriotic resolve; and

The King's  
patriotic con-  
duct,



SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.

perhaps, never did a King, inspired with the true spirit of heroism, place himself in circumstances of greater difficulty and danger. Bishop Williams who was now in favour, and whose advice was

contrary to the  
advice of Bishop  
Williams.

like that of Achitophel, but whose responses like those of Cassandra were doomed to be rejected, earnestly advised the King not to venture upon such a perilous step. He shewed the King the impossibility of restoring tranquillity to Scotland, by any sudden movement, and that under his present circumstances they would construe his personal appearance among them, as the result, not of courtesy, but fear—concluding in these striking words: “Therefore, keep near to the Parliament, *all the work is within those walls*; do what you can to win them man by man: for some of the Commons are preparing a declaration to make your Government odious: Stir not till you have mollified the grand contrivers with preferments.”

The King's  
absence,

But such circumspect and stratagetic counsel was not in accordance with the open and confiding disposition of the Prince, and he determined upon his journey. But, before his departure, a bill was hastened through Parliament for the pacification of the two kingdoms, at a cost to England, of eleven hundred thousand pounds.

affords licence

Soon after the King's departure, the majority of the two Houses left London for their country seats, to recruit their spirits after such laborious attention to business: but the innovating leaders remained,



and commenced their attacks upon the Church and the Liturgy; which, however, for the present were discomfited by the firmness of the few remaining Lords. Religion was, now, called in to their aid, and its solemn rites degraded into an abettor of Rebellion. A day of thanksgiving was appointed, and the celebrated Doctor Burgess, already introduced to the reader, preached before the honorable House. The pulpits of the turbulent Presbyters everywhere rung with the praises of Parliament; and the Scots, whilst the Clergy, whose judgment and conscience would not permit them to join in this species of adulation, were termed **MALIGNANTS**.

SECTION  
IV.

CHAP. II.

to the Com-  
mons.

In the mean time, the King determined, in order to remove every pretext for opposition, to yield to whatever might be demanded of him in the Scotch Parliament. All the exorbitant acts of the late "Assembly," which had abolished Episcopacy, and assumed to itself the power of inflicting ecclesiastical censures, even upon the King—were declared legal—the absolute government of the nation given to the Lords of the secret Council, who during the recess of Parliament were created Conservators of the peace of the two kingdoms.—All the great officers of State were to be chosen by Parliament, without any regard to the opinion of the Sovereign. His own friends were to receive the benefit of the general amnesty, on condition of not being admitted to his presence; whilst his enemies were

The King  
acts upon the  
Law of Expe-  
diency,



SECTION rewarded with titles of honor, and the transfer of  
 IV. the Church lands—A bounty, which was even  
 CHAP. II. extended to the refractory Presbyters, the ring-  
 leader of whom, Mr. Henderson, was gifted with  
 the revenues of the Royal Chapel, which were  
 equal to a Bishoprick!

which gives  
 general satis-  
 faction.

All Scotland rang with the praises of the Monarch; and the loudest professions of loyalty and submission were made by all ranks of people; even General Lesley, now Earl of Lieven, in a generous fit of admiration, declared that he never would take arms into his hands against “so gude a King.”

but is not last-  
 ing.

But it was a short-lived popularity. These concessions were too exorbitant to be lasting. They were granted by the King for the purpose of avoiding a hostile collision, and in the hope, that when the conflict of passion had subsided, the course of the Government might easily be turned into its legitimate and constitutional channel. But the King's indulgence was misplaced. The Scots considered their cause—as all Revolutionists do—of such vast importance to the world, as to justify the violation of all their promises of loyalty and fidelity; and the Earl of Lauderdale, who had received from the King, the gift of a Lordship with £20,000 a year, in a fury of Presbyterian zeal, exclaimed: “*That he would live to see THE CAUSE not only go through England, but also carried to the walls of Rome.*”



Empty boast! which discovers how entirely enthusiasm sometimes overcomes our discretion; and, how completely our contracted views of things are opposed to the grand economy of the divine government. At the very moment when this potent Earl was collecting, from what he saw around him, the universal establishment of the Scotch Covenant—the Presbyterian discipline of the Scotch Kirk—and the civil government of the Scotch Council, the Supreme Ruler was preparing out of their own presumption, a series of national punishments, which were about to fall upon the heads of all engaged in these extreme and selfish counsels.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

These concessions which silenced if they did not satisfy the discontents of Scotland were no sooner granted, than other distractions were at hand.—A formidable rebellion in Ireland preceded by a fearful massacre of the Irish Protestants. This horrid deed was perpetrated by the Papists and old natives, on the twenty third of October, and stands unparalleled in the annals of mankind for savageness and brutality. It was kept in such profound secrecy, that no tidings of it escaped; and it burst upon the astonished heads of the Protestants like the sudden tempest of night, sweeping all before it. Dublin alone escaped by a miraculous discovery of the Plot on the preceding evening. Fifty thousand Protestants without regard of sex, age, or quality, perished in cold

The Irish  
Massacre,  
A. D. 1641.



SECTION blood; and in such a merciless and barbarous manner, that the mind recoils from the narration.

IV.

CHAP. II.

Followed by  
a Popish Cove-  
nant.

The tidings of this new calamity flew like lightning through England, and filled the minds of all men with horror and indignation, whilst the Irish, following the example of the *loyal* people of Scotland, published a “POPISH COVENANT;” and insisted upon a redress of grievances. The King was still at York; and the Earl of Leicester who had been appointed Lieutenant of London, during his absence, summoned the Lords of the Council, and, next day laid the disastrous affair before the two houses, who had not the least idea what course to pursue. Letters, however, were received from the King, who stated the serious and formidable character of the Rebellion, recommended a “sharp war;” and with a fatal confidence, which like an “*Ignis fatuus*” betrayed him to his ruin—entrusted the management of it to his faithful Commons. Never were subjects so honored and trusted by a Prince—never was a Prince so deceived and betrayed by his subjects.

The Commons inflame  
the public  
mind.

Taking advantage of this disastrous state of affairs in Ireland, the Leaders of the Commons inflamed the minds of the people with the most scandalous falsehoods, insinuating that the rebellion of Ireland had been fomented by the Queen for the purpose of restoring Popery; and to demonstrate the malevolence of their intentions, they proceeded to frame a grand Remonstrance,



which should enumerate all the Grievances which the nation had endured since the death of James I. It was an extraordinary and unjustifiable document, compounded of truth and falsehood, enumerating every error, every misfortune, every arbitrary act of Government; and, may be denominated, a magnificent libel against the King, Queen, and Royal Family. It was drawn up by the ringleaders of a vicious and unreasonable party, daily advancing to power; carried only by nine votes, and, at an unusual time of night, when the friends of the King and the miserable Constitution had retired. On this occasion, Oliver Cromwell declared to Lord Falkland, "*that if the Remonstrance had not passed he would have sold all he had the next morning, and never would have seen England more, and he knew many other honest men of the same Resolution.\**"

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

Their "grand  
Remons-  
trance."

The very next day the King returned to London, and was received with every mark of respect by the Lord Mayor, Sir Richard Gourney—a man of patriotism, wisdom, and courage, who, attended with the Citizens, met the King at his entrance to Moorfields, with every demonstration of loyalty and affection. But these fair appearances which might have been improved to the advantage and prosperity of the Kingdom, were blasted by the machinations of the prevailing party, who lost no opportunity of using falsehood to corrupt the under-

The King's  
return.

\* This Remonstrance may be seen in *Rushworth*.



SECTION standing of the weak—bold scandal to encourage  
 IV. the seditious—boundless promises to inspire the  
 CHAP. II. ambitious, and abject flattery to gain the vulgar.

The King's  
 administration. Shortly after his return, the King appointed a  
 new Council, which, considering the difficulties  
 of his situation, was arranged with great judg-  
 ment. The celebrated Lord Falkland was ap-  
 pointed Secretary of State—a man of great natural  
 parts, which he improved and polished to the  
 utmost by daily cultivation. His learning and  
 attainments were extensive; and, his memory so  
 retentive that he never forgot anything he had  
 once read. He was superior to all those passions  
 which sway inferior minds, and was guilty of no  
 other ambition, than that of acquiring knowledge.  
 Integrity and sincerity were the guide of his ac-  
 tions; and all his excellencies were crowned with  
 great modesty and humility.

Sir. J. Colepepper, a person of unblemished  
 reputation and of known abilities, but more of a  
 soldier by education than a statesman, was made  
 Chancellor of the Exchequer. His quick concep-  
 tion and lively fancy gave him great power of  
 debate, in which he is said to have excelled.

Mr. Edward Hyde was also taken into the  
 King's Council, a man of sound capacity—of com-  
 petent learning, great industry, an eloquent speak-  
 er, and an elegant writer.

To these were added George, Lord Digby,  
 eldest Son of the Earl of Bristol, equally gifted



with his colleagues by nature, and, as accomplished a scholar as any of his age. He was of a fine and prepossessing appearance, and displayed great elegance and gracefulness of manner. He was possessed of an heroic courage equal to the most daring enterprises; but unfitted to carry them into execution by the impatience of his genius, and an overweening confidence in his own powers.

Several Preferments were also made in the Church, of the choicest men in the kingdom.— Doctor Williams was promoted to the Archiepiscopate of York: Doctor King to the See of Chichester: Doctor Hall to Norwich: Doctor Skinner to Oxford, and Doctor Prideaux to Worcester.

But these promotions, however wisely and judiciously made, gave dissatisfaction to the Commons. They sought for new grounds of complaint, and took umbrage at the King, for dismissing their guard which he had appointed during his absence. They circulated their “Remonstrance” with all its calumny and slander upon its head, through the length and breadth of the land.

They purposely delayed raising the supplies for the army to be sent into Ireland—rejected an offer made by the King, to raise ten thousand Volunteers, if the House would grant supplies for their pay, and still aiming at the increase of their power they carried a Bill for the impressment of soldiers, by which they transferred that prerogative of the Crown to themselves; and the King, under the

SECTION  
IV.

CHAP. II.

The Commons dissatisfied,

Increase their power,



SECTION pressure of circumstances, passed it, together with  
 IV. another for suppressing the votes of the Bishops  
 CHAP. II. in the upper House.

by very unlaw-  
 ful means.

Determined, as they had long been, on the most desperate measures, these invasions of the Royal prerogative gave the clearest indication of their design to effect a fundamental change in the Government. They now advanced another step, and in order to assert their authority in disposing of all great offices of trust, they pretended to take great offence at the King for appointing Colonel Lundiford, to be Lieutenant of the Tower, in the place of Sir W. Balfour; and recommended Sir J. Conyers. The Lords resented this interference as a gross encroachment on the power of the executive. This obstacle only served to increase their violence. Agitation of all kinds was set at work. The apprentices and common people were excited to insurrection. Vast crowds assembled. Petitions were presented, especially against Prelacy, as the great grievance of the nation. Disorderly mobs insulted the members of Parliament, crying out "No Bishops!" Westminster Abbey was forcibly entered and despoiled, and by the advice of the Judges, constables and a strong watch were appointed by the Lords, to prevent a repetition of such outrages; but they were actually sent for by the Commons, and discharged; and one of the Judges who had issued the Writs was committed to the Tower.



Thus the barriers of Law were thrown down, by one branch of the Legislature usurping to itself all the powers of the state; and rendered the more formidable, because it refused not to secure its authority by pandering to the ignorance, credulity, and licentiousness of the people. The insolence of the mob increased to such an extent, that no person could attend his place in Parliament, without endangering his life, unless he was a known partisan of the popular leaders.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.


These proceedings of the Commons were highly displeasing to the respectable part of the community; and, the King, who during his residence in Scotland, had obtained positive evidence of the guilty and treasonable practices of the principal innovators, was urged by Lord Digby, at this moment of their unpopularity, to impeach six of their leading members, of treason. Most of their names have long been familiar to the Reader.—They were Lord Kimbolton, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Hollis, Sir Arthur Hazlerigg, and Mr. Strode.

The King  
discovers their  
Treason.

It was a bold and striking measure, and had it been executed with wisdom and caution, might have put an effectual stop to the evils which afflicted the state. But it was otherwise; and, its failure only hastened the crisis of the national malady. When the House, instead of delivering up the accused members, sent a message to the King, that *they should be forthcoming when the charges*



SECTION *against them were exhibited*—he was urged, contrary to his own opinion, which was generally correct, to proceed to the House, and, in his own person demand the traitors. With his usual guard and some Gentlemen, who joined him on his way to the House, he entered the lobby, where he commanded his attendants to wait and “*to give offence to no man.*”—Unattended, the King entered the House, and seated himself in the Speaker’s chair, which had been vacated on his appearance. The King asked him, *whether the accused members were present*, to which the Speaker with great prudence and intrepidity answered—*that he had neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak any thing but what he was commanded by the House.* The King perceived they were gone; and briefly stating his views to them on the subject; he concluded by assuring them: “*Upon the word of a King, that he never intended any force, but would prosecute them in a legal way; but if they were not sent to him, he must take his own course to find them.*”

IV.  
CHAP. II.  
  
The King  
appears in the  
House.

Enables the  
Commons

This appearance of the King, set the House in a flame, and immediately after his departure, loud cries of “Breach of Privilege!” resounded from all sides till the whole city was filled with the clamour. The House was adjourned,—the impeached Members took refuge in the city—a committee was selected to sit during the adjournment at the Guildhall. All night the city was kept in constant alarm. Men were employed on purpose



to run from one gate to another, crying out “the Cavaliers are coming.”

SECTION  
IV.

CHAP. II.

The imprudence of the transaction was now manifest; and to remove these unfounded impressions, the King entered the city, next morning, to acquaint the Lord Mayor with the true grounds of his proceedings. But the ferment of the common people was not to be allayed. The excitement was designed to be kept up by the Committee at the Guildhall, who were busily employed the whole day in taking depositions, respecting the King's visit to the House. The most exaggerated statements were received; and at last, they published and distributed a Narrative of the transaction, composed of the most audacious falsehoods, in which they declared—“*That the King came to the House attended with a multitude of armed men, in a hostile manner, to the great terror of all the sitting members—that upon full examination it appeared, several soldiers, Papists and others, about five hundred in number came with him, &c.*” This declaration, so contrary to the known facts of the case, was perhaps, of all documents ever drawn up by mortal man, except “the grand Remonstrance,” the most wicked and scandalous.


False as it was, its circulation was most detrimental to the peace of the community. Hurry and tumult prevailed in all parts of the city. Multitudes of people ran to and fro, with terror depicted in their countenances. The shops were

to continue  
their agitation

with fatal success



SECTION closed, and men began to prepare for any enterprise. The accused members were conducted in triumph to their places in Parliament. The Militia were called upon to attend them—the Seamen on the Thames united in the procession; and, to alarm the Court, a considerable body of Troops with several field pieces, attended with immense clamour of people and beating of drums, were paraded on both sides of Whitehall by land and water.

IV.  
CHAP. II.  


Force the  
King to retire

The King highly indignant at these proceedings, determined to retire from Whitehall to Hampton Court, where he might be secure from these popular insults. Every person saw it was likely to be a dangerous step. But his honor as a Sovereign was wounded, and his resolution could not be shaken. But his residence at Hampton Court could not protect him from daily disquietude, or his family from terrifying apprehensions, and he retired to Windsor.

and seize the  
command of  
the Militia.

The Commons now determined to secure themselves of the entire Sovereignty. They appointed Captain Skippon, who had risen from the ranks, and was quite illiterate, but a man of great experience in military affairs and of good conduct, Major General of the City Militia. They accused Lord Digby of treason, who fled; and appointed Sir J. Hothan, Governor of Hull, in order to secure the Magazine of arms and ammunition in that fortress; and, to keep alive the spirit of agitation



in the City, they adjourned the Houses, ordering a Committee armed with full powers, to sit in the "Grocers Hall." To assist their deliberations, the most preposterous alarms were raised, one of which was, that mines of gunpowder were prepared *to blow up the Thames!* and to drown the Citizens in their beds!

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

In the mean time, the King, removed from the scene of agitation, was enabled to review with composure, the troubled state of Public Affairs, and, after promising a general pardon for all that was past, sent one of the noblest declarations to both Houses of Parliament that any records of any age or Nation can produce. It was sent by a messenger, on the twentieth of January, and couched in the following terms: "That for the preventing those manifold distractions in the Kingdom, they would speedily take into consideration *whatever they held necessary* as well for the support of the regal authority and settlement of the revenue, as the present and future establishment of their *privileges, estates, and liberties*, the safety of the true religion now professed in the Church of England, and the ordinary ceremonies in such a manner as might leave room for *no just offence*: which when they had formed into one entire body, so that he and they might be better able to judge of them, he would then make it appear, what small grounds some persons had for the jealousies they seemed to apprehend; and how ready

The King's  
magnanimous  
conduct,  
A. D. 1642.

N. S.



SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.

he would be, not only to equal, but to exceed the most indulgent Princes in their acts of grace and favour to their people: so that if these present distractions did not by the blessing of God, end in a happy accommodation, he would then be ready *to call Heaven and Earth, God and Man to witness, that HE HAD NOT FAILED IN HIS PART.*"

The two  
Houses at vari-  
ance.

The Lords received the message with every demonstration of joy, and desired the Commons to unite with them in thanks to his Majesty for his gracious offers. But this did not suit with the temper and designs of the Commons, who were now lost to every patriotic and constitutional sentiment. They determined to widen the breach. A division took place between the two Houses. The people were roused to send petitions from all parts of the country—stating the danger and distraction of the country; and praying that the Tower and other places of strength and defence might be placed in the hands of the Commons.

A Conference.

On the strength of these petitions, Mr. Pym undertook to manage a conference with the House of Lords, and in an inflammatory speech, which was afterwards printed and sent on a peregrination of mischief through the country, he had the audaciousness to tell them, "it would be matter of deep regret if the House of Lords would not unite with them in the *good work*, and that it should be recorded in history, that the House of



Commons *alone* was left to effect the *Salvation* of the Kingdom! ”

The King now plainly perceiving that the popular Leaders would accept of no reasonable compromise, and that they were gradually securing to themselves the Sovereign power, he resolved to retire still further from London, and positively to refuse his assent to the passing of any further act, till he fully understood the extent of their demands, and knew what returns they were prepared to make for all his concessions. Whilst the King was agitating these things in his mind, he received a petition from the united Houses, “for his delivering up the Tower, with all the forts and militia of England into their hands.”

Fully determined not to accede to this proposition, he sent a perspicuous but evasive answer, which they chose to interpret as giving his assent, and proceeded to act accordingly. Sir J. Conyers was appointed Governor of the Tower, and Sir John Byron, who had been appointed by the King, one of the bravest and most generous officers in christendom, was summoned by the Commons, and brought to his knees before the bar of the House, as a *delinquent*.

These transactions could not be mistaken ; and the Queen, terrified with daily apprehensions for the safety of her family, was already on her way to Holland ; and the King discovered that spirit and resolution which only required an occasion,

SECTION  
IV.

CHAP. II.

The Com-  
mons grasp at  
Supreme power

The Queen  
flies,  
A. D. 1642.  
N. S.



SECTION in which the safety of others was not compromised, to call forth. The Queen embarked on the third of February, with the Princess Mary who who was then about twelve years of age. It was a sorrowful parting; and if the veil of futurity could have been removed, would have been still more so. The young Princess never saw her father again, and the Queen herself, had but one transient view of him afterwards. The King returned to Greenwich, from whence he forwarded his answer to the ordinance of the Commons requesting the command of the militia. His answer was most conciliatory. He expressed “*his readiness to grant such commissions as they should recommend to him; but that he could not consent to divest himself of that trust which God and the Laws had put into his hand, for the defence of his people.*”

The Commons nobly resisted.

Transported almost to fury, the Commons despatched a select Committee to the King who had removed to Theobald's, to assure him that his unexpected denial had created still greater apprehensions in their minds respecting the public safety; and that if he persisted in his denial “*they should act in defiance of him, and dispose of the militia in the manner which had been determined in their ordinance, &c.*”

The King's address,

At the conclusion of the address, the King, roused to indignation at the presumption of the request—a request which demanded the abdica-



tion of the Royal authority—and which he could not grant in justice to his Country, or, without dereliction of the most solemn obligations, answered: “He was so amazed he knew not what to answer: they spoke of jealousies and fears, but let them lay their hands to their hearts, and ask themselves, whether he might not be as well disturbed by fears and jealousies, and if so, their message had nothing lessened them. As to the militia he had thought so much of it before he sent his answer, and knew it was so agreeable to what they could *justly ask* and he *honourably grant*, that he should not alter it in any point. As to his residence near them, of which they spoke, he wished it might be so safe and honourable, that he had no cause to absent himself from Whitehall. They might ask themselves whether he had not? As to his son, he would take that care of him, which should justify him to God, as a father; and to his dominions, as a King. To conclude, upon his honour he had no thought but of peace and justice to his people; which he would, by all fair means, seek to preserve and maintain, *relying on the goodness of God for the preservation of himself and his rights.*”

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

The warm and energetic manner in which this reply was made, in some measure damped the expectations of the Commons; but they determined to use every means to shake the King's resolution. They had immediate recourse to their usual me-

which baffles  
them.



SECTION IV. CHAP. II.

thod of remonstrance; and during the short period of its debate, committed more numerous acts of arbitrary power, than had been done by the King and Council during the twelve years of their sole administration. Sir Ralph Hopton was committed to the Tower, for objecting to some expression in it, inconsistent with the reverence which was due to the King. Mr. Trelawny, an eminent merchant, was expelled the House and cast into prison, for saying to a friend—*that the House could not appoint a guard without the King's consent, under pain of Treason.* Nor did they spare the commonalty: for, one Sanderson, a tailor, being convicted at the Bar of the House, for wishing *King Pym and Sir John Hotham both hanged*, was fined, condemned to stand in the pillory one day in Cheapside, and from thence to be whipped to the Fleet; on another day, to stand in the pillory at Westminster, and from thence whipped to Bridewell, where he was to be kept to hard labour during his life:—affording another example, that popular licentiousness is the worst tyranny—that it places no boundary to its will—possesses no directory for its actions—but combines in its character all the cruelty, despotism and fanaticism of our common nature; and, in the development of its character, personifies the POWER OF EVIL.

A Remonstrance

The Remonstrance was presented to the King by the Earls of Holland and Pembroke. Several



times during the reading of it, the Monarch roused to indignation, by its scandalous statements, exclaimed, "It is false." He said, "He could not have believed that the Parliament would have sent him such a declaration, had it not been brought to him by men of such undoubted honour:" and concluded with a pathetic expostulation, which shewed how deeply he was wounded—"What would you have? Have I violated your Laws? Have I denied to pass one Bill for the ease and security of my people. God so deal with me and mine! *as all my thoughts and intentions are upright for the maintenance of the true Protestant Profession, and for the observation and preservation of the laws of the land; and I hope God will bless and assist these laws for my preservation.*" It was on this occasion, that the Earl of Pembroke having urged on him the subject, whether the command of the Militia might not be given up for a limited period, he sharply replied: "No: not for an hour! You ask that of me in this, which never was asked of any King, and with which I will not trust my children."

The Commons, though damped by the firmness and intrepidity of the King, still hoped to prevail by importunity, and agitation. The canonical Clergy were silenced, and the most vehement preachers were stationed in most populous places.

The crisis was now fast approaching. The King had retired to York, where he was attended

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

presented to  
the King.Violent  
Preachers em-  
ployed.



SECTION IV.  
 CHAP. II.

by many of the Nobility, whilst a great number of persons of the first quality, were daily flocking to him. His messages on the points at issue, became still more decisive. The Parliament was confounded; and all well-wishers to their country now saw that the time was come, to heal the breaches of the State, and to consolidate the Government of the kingdom in its constitutional course. Even the Earl of Essex was staggered; and wished, that *the Parliament would proceed more moderately, and that the King who had given so much, might receive some satisfaction.* But strange! at this very moment when the Earl was hesitating, as to his future conduct, the King suddenly deprived him of his office as Lord High Chamberlain: and this is the more remarkable, as it would have been impossible for the Parliament to have raised an army, if this powerful nobleman had not consented to become its General. This step decided his course!

The Commons secure the Fleet

The leading members of Parliament whose design was evidently to subvert the Constitution in Church and State, thus reinforced, determined if possible, to secure the command of the Navy. In order to accomplish this important object, they sent for Sir John Pennington, who had been appointed by the King, to take the command under the Earl of Northumberland, and during his attendance, dispatched the Earl of Warwick to usurp his place. Their next step was, to put their or-



*dinance* respecting the Militia, into execution; SECTION  
 which they did on the 10th of May, when their IV.  
 own officer, General Skippon, appeared in Fins- CHAP. II.  
 bury Fields, at the head of ten thousand men.—

Orders were also sent to all the adjacent Counties, and the Militia.  
 to execute the same ordinance, and to provide  
 arms and ammunition. And hearing that the King,  
 alarmed by their proceedings, had actually ap-  
 pointed himself a guard—with unparalleled hypo-  
 crisy, they passed the following vote; that, “It  
 appears, that the King seduced by wicked counsel,  
 intends to make war against the Parliament”—  
 when they knew, that he had neither ship, har-  
 bour, arms nor money; and, to complete their  
 treason, they sent forth a third Remonstrance, in  
 which they declared: “That they had an absolute  
 right of declaring Law, as being the supreme court  
 of the kingdom; and, whatsoever they declared  
 to be so, ought not to be questioned by the King  
 or any subject, &c.”

The mask was now taken off. The respectable  
 part of the community were dispirited; and des-  
 paired of an accommodation. They saw the Mon-  
 archical power overthrown, and their just rights,  
 and liberties, prostrate at the feet of a faction.—  
 Many thought it unsafe, any longer to be present  
 at the consultations of the House, and retired from  
 Parliament; so that in debates of the highset im-  
 portance, not one fifth of the Members were pre-



SECTION sent; and, very often, in the house of Peers, not  
IV. more than twelve or thirteen were present.

CHAP. II.

Commons  
preparations.

But the remaining Junto still retained the ascendant; and after publishing their NINETEEN PROPOSITIONS, which contained an entire subversion of our constitutional Monarchy, they proceeded to secure to themselves the means of supporting an army. Proposals were published for supplying horses, men, and ammunition; and all honest citizens were exhorted to bring in money, plate, &c. for the *maintenance of the public peace*, and the security of the *laws and liberties*. The pulpits were again profaned; and the disorderly preachers who flocked to London from all parts of the country, exhorted the people to promote “*this glorious cause and work of God*,” and stigmatised those who refused, as “*accursed of God*.” The result was extraordinary: and we are told, that in London, Middlesex, and Essex, the money, plate, rings &c. which were supplied, amounted to more than eleven millions Sterling.

Condition of  
the King.

In the mean time, the King who was attended at York with a splendid train of Nobility and Gentry, had made no preparations, except sending to Holland for a supply of arms. The whole Court were extremely averse to a war. Indeed, on both sides, there were many noble minded and patriotic men, who used their utmost influence to prevent so direful a calamity. But every effort was frustrated, and in such a manner as distinctly



marked the interposition of the Most High; and shewed that the nation was now doomed to suffer the punishment of its perverseness and folly. Everything was overruled. The King, who discovered great military talents, had laid a scheme for the recovery of the fleet; which, if accomplished, might have prevented the war; but it was defeated by the delay of a few hours, in Sir John Pennington, who had received a Commission from the King, to supersede the Earl of Northumberland as High Admiral. This delay which was caused by a trifling mistake, enabled the Parliament to issue an ordinance, empowering the Earl of Warwick to take the command of the fleet, which he executed with great dexterity and resolution.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

The voice of warning, almost of prophecy, was proclaimed to the House of Commons, and the whole Nation, by two of its most distinguished members, whose breasts seemed to have been embued with the truest sentiments of honor and love of their Country. Their names must be recorded—Mr. Bulstrode Whitlock, and Sir Benjamin Rudyard, and I wish I could find room for their declarations, one example must suffice:—"We must," said the former, "surrender up our laws, liberties, properties, and lives, into the hands of insolent mercenaries, whose rage and violence will command us and all we have; and reason, and justice, and honour will leave our land. The ignoble will rule the noble: baseness shall be pre-

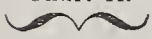
The voice of  
reason rejected.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.



ferred before virtue, and profaneness before piety.

Of a potent people, we shall make ourselves weak, and, become the instruments of our own ruin.—

We shall burn our own houses, waste our own fields, pillage our own goods, open our own veins and eat our own bowels. You will hear other sounds than those of drums and trumpets—the clattering of armour,—the roaring of guns—the groans of wounded and dying men—the shrieks of women, the lamentations of widows and the cries of orphans. I wish the Duke of Bohun's observation may prove a caution, not a prophecy: *'England is a great creature which cannot be destroyed but by its own hands,'*”

The Commons encouraged by false surmises.

But in vain. The popular and innovating leaders believed the King could not make any effectual resistance. Sir Benjamin Rudyard, on his death bed, declared, that Mr. Pym and Mr. Hampden, *both told him, that they thought the King so ill beloved by his people, that he never could be able to raise an army to oppose them*—a fatal mistake, which encouraged them to confirm all their past actions, by a final resolution on the twelfth of July, to raise an army; and by this resolve, to hasten the destruction of themselves, their King, and their Country.

The King in perplexity.

Whilst the Parliament was thus determined and prepared for immediate action, the King was uncertain what course to pursue. Without a garri-son, with only one ship, which had arrived from



Holland, without soldiers, without money, he made use of his abilities; and endeavoured by policy or stratagem, to gain possession of Hull, which contained a valuable Magazine of Arms; but after wasting much time in the attempt, he was entirely baffled and obliged to relinquish it. What course he could next have adopted, it is impossible to say; but it was decided for him by the governor of Portsmouth, Colonel Goring, who declared in his favour.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

Every thing on both sides was now in motion. The Parliamentary army under Sir William Waller immediately besieged Portsmouth. The King despatched the Marquis of Hertford into the West, with many others of the Nobility and Gentry of those parts, to raise an army and relieve Portsmouth, whilst he proceeded to raise the ROYAL STANDARD at Nottingham, a ceremony which was to take place on the twenty-second of August—that day, so important to the Royal cause, was discouraging and inauspicious. No concourse of people appeared in obedience to the royal Proclamation. No military array attended the King on his arrival. The train-bands of the town were his only guard.—The sky was dark and the wind tempestuous. The ceremony took place, about six o'clock in the evening, when the King in person, with a slender train proceeded, on horseback, to the Castle Hill. The Standard was borne by Sir Richard Verney, the Knight Marshal, who fixed

The scene of  
war opens.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.



it in its appointed place, attended with the beating of drums and the flourish of trumpets. All this was sufficiently discouraging: but what followed was still more so; for, in the night, the Standard was blown down by the violence of the tempest, which raged for several days with unabating fury, and effectually baffled every attempt to replace it; as if heaven intended to presage by such a demonstration, the storm of vengeance, of blood and fury which was about to desolate the kingdom, as well as to foretel the disastrous result in the overthrow of the Royal Authority.

The King's resolution.

Such was the hopeless condition of the King's affairs at this period, that after sending a conciliatory message to both Houses, which was received with insolence, he was *unanimously* advised by his Counsellors, to hasten to London and throw himself upon the good-will of Parliament. The King was left alone in his resolution, not to adopt a course, which would have been fatal to the British Constitution. But the King, in order to remove from himself all imputation of blame, or, as he expresses it, "*so amply to perform his duty, that God would absolve him from the guilt of any of that blood which must be spilt,*" he despatched the admirable Lord Falkland to Parliament, with an earnest entreaty, to consider the miserable condition of their country, and to proceed to an amicable adjustment of their differences.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

The Commons tyranny

But the Parliament were too confident in the strength of their resources to listen to any overtures that fell short of an absolute surrender ; and, after publishing a formal declaration of war, they proceeded to exercise their usurpation of the sovereign authority, in the most arbitrary and tyrannical manner. The Nobility and Gentry were committed to prison with every circumstance of cruelty and inhumanity ; many of the Clergy and Laity, who would not rebel against their Bishop, nor abandon their King, were imprisoned on board the ships in the Thames, and confined like galley slaves under the decks ; whilst disorderly and ignorant preachers filled the pulpits, inflaming the minds of the people, and preaching sedition and rebellion. The Lord Montague of Boughton a venerable Nobleman of unblemished reputation, and eighty years of age, for expressing himself dissatisfied at their proceedings, was seized and committed to prison ; where he remained to the day of his death : whilst the common people, imitating the example of their leaders, plundered the houses of the loyal and well-affected ; and treated the inmates with every indignity.

But these violent proceedings were of great advantage to the Royal cause. Every person of respectability, not contaminated with sectarian, republican or selfish principles, saw, that there was no safety for their lives and fortunes, but in the support of the Regal Power : and accordingly,

serves the Royal cause.



SECTION every man hastened to his post. The King's levies  
 IV. advanced in an extraordinary manner, and at the  
 CHAP. II. end of fifteen days, he found himself at the head  
 of a brave and determined army.

Northampton  
 the rendezvous  
 of the Parlia-  
 ment.

In the mean time, the Parliament having all the arms and ammunition of the kingdom at their disposal, had equipped an army of fifteen thousand effective men; and on the ninth day of September, amidst the acclamations of the multitude, they left London under the command of the Earl of Essex. At Barnet, they met the venerable Lord Montague, on his way to London as a prisoner; and the Earl of Essex courteously stopped his coach with a design to salute him: but the old Lord immediately ordered his coachman to drive on, saying: "This is not a time for compliments," a rebuke, which it is said, gave a sensible check to the towering confidence of the General; who proceeded towards Northampton, the rendezvous of the Parliamentary forces.

Princes Ru-  
 pert and Mau-  
 rice,

Whilst the King was at Nottingham, he was joined by his nephews the two sons of the Count Palatine of the Rhine. Prince Rupert, was about twenty three years of age, and was appointed General of the Horse. He had been trained to arms from his childhood, and was of a high and enterprising spirit. He had every qualification of a good soldier—he was brave, vigilant and temperate. But his manners were rough, and his temper impetuous. The former, rendered him less



agreeable to his companions in arms; and the latter, less successful in securing the advantages of many a well fought field. His brother, Prince Maurice, was equally eminent for his undaunted bravery and greatness of mind; and more beloved for the gentleness of his mind, and the courteousness of his manners; and never, perhaps, were two Princes born to see a greater variety of fortune, or to perform more heroic achievements.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. 11.

The King having made the best arrangements in his power, proceeded on his way to Shrewsbury: and, in order to impress upon all men the justice of his cause, and the sincerity of his intentions, he made the following Protestation at the head of his army, from the statements of which, he never swerved during the whole of this arduous contest: "I do promise in the sight of God, to maintain the just privileges and freedom of Parliament, and to govern by the known Laws of the land, to my utmost power; and particularly, to observe inviolably the Laws consented to by me, this Parliament. When I willingly fail in these particulars, I will expect no aid nor relief from any man nor protection from Heaven. But in this resolution, I hope for the cheerful assistance of all good men, and am confident of God's blessing."

The King's  
integrity.

The King was received on his march through Derby and Stafford, with every demonstration of loyalty and affection; and entered Shrewsbury on the twentieth of September. Hearing that the

Enters  
Shrewsbury.



SECTION IV.  
 CHAP. II.  
 Earl of Essex was marching upon Worcester, he sent Prince Rupert with part of the Horse towards that place; who, advancing as far as Powick Bridge, fell in with a body of the Parliamentary horse, under the command of Colonel Sandys.—The Prince though wearied with a long march, hesitated not to engage, and made a desperate assault upon the enemy as they debouched from a narrow lane; and after a sharp encounter, entirely defeated them. This was the first engagement of any moment, and proved of great advantage to the King.

The first engagement.

The fugitives everywhere proclaimed the valour of Prince Rupert, and the courage of his troops; and though the number of slain was inconsiderable, yet very few of that select body, ever returned to the war. But the Parliament, to prevent the injurious consequences of such a decisive affair, had recourse to the most odious falsehoods—published it as a victory on their side; and even proceeded to the impiety of proclaiming a solemn thanksgiving, for such an auspicious beginning of the war.\*

The Perjury of the Commons.

The King's popularity. The King's forces daily increased, and wherever he appeared his presence inspired universal admiration and esteem. His followers were animated with an admirable devotion to the cause in which they were engaged. The university of Oxford with a most munificent promptness, laid all

\* Sir William Dugdale.



their treasures of plate and money, at his feet; an example which was followed by the private individuals of his party. But after all their efforts, their army was insufficiently equipped; even the officers were badly accoutred; and some of the common soldiers were even armed with cudgels. But it was a gallant band, and was destined, by its courage and energy, to maintain the Constitutional Monarchy, and liberties of England. The King's troop of Guards was composed of gentlemen of quality; and it is said, that the estates of that single Corps, were equal to the revenues of all those who then passed for the Lords and Commons of England in Parliament.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

With this army, consisting of ten thousand men, the King determined to march towards London, and had advanced into Oxfordshire as far as Banbury, which he summoned to surrender. Whilst he was preparing to enforce his summons, he was informed that the Earl of Essex had reached Keinton, within ten miles of him, and immediately gave orders to march in that direction. When his army arrived at Edge Hill, which affords an extensive prospect of the adjoining country, he beheld the enemy drawn out in the valley, making preparations for battle. Being asked what he intended to do, he answered with great spirit, "I am resolved to fight: God, and all good men, assist my righteous cause!"

Battle of  
Edge Hill,  
A. D. 1642.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.



In favor of  
the King.

The Earl of Lindsey, as Commander in chief, was with the main body on foot. Prince Rupert commanded the right wing, and General Wilmot, the left; whilst the King, attended by the Prince of Wales, every where animated the troops with his presence. The battle commenced about three o'clock in the afternoon. The attack of the King's Cavalry was irresistible; and both wings of the Parliamentary army were entirely routed: and, had not the pursuit been imprudently extended, the victory would have been decisive. But the Earl of Essex, who, on that day omitted nothing that could be expected from a wise and cautious General, perceiving the mistake, led on the main body, and made a vigorous attack upon the King's Foot. The contest was maintained with great courage and obstinacy on both sides. Sir Richard Verney, Knight Marshal was slain, and the Royal standard taken: but the King, sword in hand, heading his troops, led on the assault, and the Standard was recaptured. But the Royal cause suffered a great loss, in the death of the Earl of Lindsey, who was mortally wounded in the heat of the battle. Both armies maintained their positions and remained in the field all night. In the morning, the Earl of Essex drew off his forces, and retired to Warwick; whilst the King returned to Banbury, which immediately yielded to his summons; and from thence he marched to Oxford, which he entered without opposition. Amongst



the slain of the Parliamentary army were found the bodies of several Romish Priests; and Sir William Dugdale relates, that Oliver Cromwell who had the command of a troop of horse in this engagement was so terrified at the onset of Prince Rupert's horse, that he fled from the field. The Parliament as on the former occasion, published a false representation of the conflict; and ordered a day of thanksgiving for their glorious victory! So nearly allied are cowardice and falsehood to mean ambition and unrighteous designs!

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

Falsehood of  
the Commons.

Their hypocrisy was soon manifest; for, whilst they were returning thanks for their victory, they were in reality, greatly embarrassed by the King's success; and determined to negotiate with the Scots for their aid and assistance. The Privy Council of that nation by the desire of the General Assembly had already sent a form of their Kirk Government to the Parliament at Westminster, which they declared to be "*jure Divino*," and "perpetual," with a recommendation "that England would now bestir themselves, and extirpate the Prelatical Hierarchy."

Their allies.

But whilst the Commons were intent upon this business their alarm was greatly increased, when the King, quitting Oxford, advanced to Reading, which submitted on his approach. Commissioners were immediately sent with a petition from both Houses to enter into a treaty—a proposition which the King graciously and promptly

Their alarm.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.



received ; but whatever adjustment might have followed, it was frustrated by the impetuous valour of Prince Rupert, who advanced with the horse and dragoons, without the King's orders, as far as Hounslow, where he was in danger of being surrounded by the Parliamentary forces. The King was, therefore, obliged to bring up the main body of his army, to Brentford : an engagement ensued in which the Royal arms prevailed and took five hundred prisoners, fifteen cannon, and a great store of arms and ammunition. But the Commons turned their defeat into victory, by exclaiming against the perfidy of the King for attacking their forces during a cessation of arms ; and pretended that no treaty could be negotiated whilst his army was in the precincts of the City. The King who was sincerely anxious for an honorable peace drew off his forces and retired to Reading, from whence he addressed the Parliament. But to no purpose, their object was gained by the withdrawal of the King's army, and they applied themselves to the raising of money for future operations. The King having disposed his garrisons with great military skill, retired to Oxford into winter quarters.

The King's  
conduct.

His next care was to address the Council of Scotland, in which he gives an ample account of his affairs, reminding them of their obligations, and warning them against listening to the misrepresentations of Parliament. At the same time,



SECTION  
IV.

## CHAP. II.

he addressed a letter to the Marquis of Hamilton, in which he stands forth as the sublime personification of the cause which he sustained; and which shews how justly entitled he is to the veneration of all British subjects to the latest posterity. After some general expressions of kindness which he entertained for this dark and treacherous man, he proceeds: "I have set up my rest upon the JUSTICE of my cause, being resolved that no extremity or misfortune shall make me yield; for I will be either a GLORIOUS KING or a PATIENT MARTYR. One thing more, (which but for the messenger were too much to trust to paper) the failing to one friend, the Earl of Strafford, hath indeed gone very near to me; wherefore I am resolved that no consideration whatsoever shall ever make me do the like; upon this ground I am certain, that God hath either so totally forgiven me, that he will still bless this good cause in my hands; or all my punishment shall be in this world, which, without performing what I have resolved, I cannot flatter myself will end here."

The year was now drawing towards its close; and in the month of December, the Earl of Newcastle, who had been making great exertions in the Royal cause, passed the River Tees, and formed a junction with the Earl of Cumberland. This nobleman was of a brave and romantic spirit, but too much devoted to soft and elegant pleasures. He affected great style and magnificence in his

Earl of New-  
castle enters  
the contest.



SECTION IV.  
 CHAP. II.

camp; and, though punctual in the discharge of the ordinary duties of a soldier, he would not allow the self-denying duties of a General to interfere with his refined gratifications. Even in the camp, the soldier was sacrificed to the gentleman, and the solemn exercise of arms was made subservient to the indulgence of pleasure. After several skirmishes with the enemy he advanced with an army of ten thousand men.

Sir Ralph  
 Hopton.

In the mean time Sir Ralph Hopton, a most valiant and laborious General had secured the whole of Cornwall to the King's interest, and defeated the Parliamentary forces with great slaughter, at Bradock Down, near Leskeard, whilst Prince Rupert took Cirencester by storm.

Landing of  
 the Queen.

At this juncture the Queen landed at Burlington Bay, and was met by the Marquis of Montrose, who informed her upon the most certain intelligence, that the Scots were secretly preparing an army, for the invasion of England. But this seasonable information was lost to the King by the interference of the arch-traitor the Marquis of Hamilton, who rode after the Queen to York; and made such representations as induced her to disbelieve the statements of Montrose, and he such protestations of his fidelity and attachment to the Royal cause, that he was shortly after raised to the honor of a Dukedom by his grateful and too confiding master.



The Earl of Argyle and his adherents in Scotland, were left to pursue their designs without opposition and the unconscious Queen pursued her journey to join her betrayed husband, who, at that time was engaged in a correspondence with the Parliament, which afterwards ended in a cessation of arms and a treaty at Oxford. But whilst a treaty was negotiating, the fruits of Hamilton's treachery appeared: Commissioners from Scotland arrived at Oxford, from the Privy Council and the General Assembly. These were Lord Loudon and Mr. Henderson. The petition expressed, as usual, their loyalty and respect, but strongly and pathetically urged the King to a unity in Religion and conformity in Church Government; and insisted that there never could be any solid ground for peace and security until the "*Mountain of Prelacy*" should be removed. Lord Loudon used every argument to induce the King to yield to the wishes of his brethren; but when he found the King could not be moved to violate his conscience, from motives of convenience and advantage, he desired his Majesty *to send out precepts to summon a Parliament, in Scotland*, which the King refused, on the ground, that he saw no reason to break through a particular Act of Parliament which had fixed the meeting of that Assembly in June, 1644.

The treaty of Oxford now proceeded. But to no purpose, as the Parliamentary Commissioners

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

Commission-  
ers from Scot-  
land.Treaty of  
Oxford, March  
A. D. 1643.



SECTION insisted upon the same fundamental changes in  
 IV. Church and State which they had done from the  
 CHAP. II. beginning. Nothing could exceed the attention  
 of the King to the subjects under debate; and, to  
 use the words of one of the Parliamentary Com-  
 missioners, "in this treaty the King discovered his  
 great parts and abilities, strength of reasoning  
 and quickness of apprehension, with much pati-  
 ence in hearing all objections; and would himself  
 sum up the arguments and give a most clear judg-  
 ment upon them."\*

Death of  
 Lord Brooke.

The treaty broke up on the fifteenth day of April; and on that very day several other military transactions took place in different parts of the country, one of which must be mentioned because it put an end, in rather a remarkable manner to the career of Lord Brooke one of the most determined of the innovating leaders. It is the more necessary to notice the circumstances attending his death, because it will discover that in some of the leaders there was a strong tincture of fanaticism, which will account for the mixed character of the attack which was soon made on the Constitution in Church and State. I do not mean to infer that all Lord Brooke's religion consisted in fanaticism. But whatever were his views of Christianity they were carried beyond the boundaries of a wholesome moderation, altogether inconsistent with the holy, humble, and rational

\* Whitelocke.



statements of Revelation, and, on that account SECTION  
productive of danger to the individual, and to the IV.  
society of which he was a member. CHAP. II.

This nobleman was on his march to attack the "Close" in Lichfield; a place which included the Cathedral, and a fortification of great strength. Before leaving Coventry, he ordered his Chaplain to preach from the words of Esther, "If I perish, I perish;" and, when within a short distance of Lichfield he commanded a halt; and in a long extempore prayer entreated: "*That God would by some special token manifest his approbation of their design, that if the cause was not right and just, he might presently be cut off.*" He advanced immediately to the attack, and having placed his cannon opposite the south east gate of the "Close," he stationed himself at the window of an adjoining cottage to give directions to the gunners. On a sudden shout raised by the soldiery, he ran to the door, just at that moment, when a ball which had been shot by a deaf and dumb boy, glancing on a piece of timber entered his eye, and piercing his brain, he sunk dead on the spot! A circumstance the more remarkable, as he was completely armed in mail, and received the fatal bullet in the only vulnerable part. The place which soon after surrendered, was re-taken by Prince Rupert, who on his march had a sharp encounter with the people of Birmingham, whom he defeated; but in the action fell the brave and loyal Earl of Denbigh,

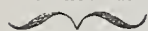
Death of the  
Earl of Denbigh



SECTION and left his Earldom to his son Lord Feilding

IV. who served in the Parliamentary army, and was

CHAP. II.



destined to act a prominent part in many of the scenes which followed. It was also during the siege of Lichfield, that the King addressed a letter

Clemency of the Prince, and which deserves to be written the King.

in gold; and to be set forth as a splendid example of Royal clemency to all the Kings and Governors of the earth. He endeavours to restrain the natural impetuosity of the Prince, and tells him "to have a care of shedding innocent blood, to shew mercy, and endeavour, rather to take his subjects' affections, than their towns; that all his hostile actions might appear to be necessitated and not at all desired." He advised him "to imitate himself, in carrying his affections and intentions to his subjects, as to friends that might be reconciled; since it shewed a Prince more near to heaven, to preserve than to destroy," declaring, "he desired nothing but the happiness and peaceable government of his kingdom, and not the effusion of the blood of his subjects. Mercy being the highest attribute of a King."

Death of  
Hampden.

We must notice in this place, the skirmish at Chalgrave-field near Thane, in Oxfordshire, because it was there, the famous Hampden one of the original and principal conspirators against the Constitution, paid the forfeit of his life.

It was on a Saturday evening in the month of June, that Prince Rupert with a select body of

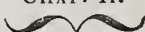


horse, left Oxford, with a design of surprising the enemy's quarters in the neighbourhood of Thane, where the Earl of Essex was encamped with all his army. Having rapidly passed beyond all the enemy's quarters as far as Wickham, he wheeled round and entirely cut off a regiment of foot and horse quartered in that place, and advancing further, within two miles of the General's camp where his men lodged in the same security, he met with the same success. The sun was now rising; and the Prince, having performed what he had projected, and being laden with prisoners and booty, gave orders to return with all convenient speed. But the alarm was now spread, and the Earl of Essex immediately dispatched some of his troops to amuse the Prince with skirmishes, till he could bring up his remaining forces. Meanwhile, Prince Rupert had nearly passed Chalgrave-field, and was upon the point of entering a narrow lane, when he descried a body of the enemy's horse in full pursuit. The Prince drew up and awaited the charge, which was made with great intrepidity; but the Prince prevailed and pursued the enemy to the main body of the General. In this fight Hampden fell—not covered with honorable wounds, but by the bursting of his own pistol, which shattered his arm in such a dreadful manner, that, after lingering a few days in great torture, he expired. It is worthy of observation, that on the morning of his death, he discovered

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.





SECTION IV.  
 CHAP. II.

greater impatience than usual, to repel the attack of the enemy. Such, indeed, was his anxiety, to chastise the insolence of the Prince, that he would not wait for the slower movement of his own men, who were foot soldiers, but mounting his horse, placed himself as a volunteer amongst the Cavalry ; and it is still more remarkable, that he fell on that very plot of ground, where he had put in execution the unconstitutional ordinance of Parliament respecting the militia. He was an extraordinary person ; of great industry, and untiring vigilance, eminent abilities and undaunted courage ; and, would have been the boast of his country, had he not been an innovator on its institutions ; or, had he been satisfied when such a reformation had been obtained, as secured the free working of the constitution. But he had no relentings ; and was determined to accomplish the revolution, which, in conjunction with other bold spirits, he had projected, and perished in the attempt, with the merited reprobation of all, who esteem the British Constitution the glory and excellency of their country.

The King's affairs still prospered ; and it would require a history to do justice to the gallant exploits performed by Sir Ralph Hopton, and the Earl of Carnarvon, who, after triumphing in many a field, obtained a most decisive victory over the Parliamentary forces, under Sir W. Waller at Roundaway Down about thirty miles from Oxford.



At this juncture, it pleased God to afford one short hour of consolation and repose to the pious Monarch, before he should be delivered to the lust and cruelty of the basest and most ignoble of mankind. The Queen, who as we have seen, had landed at Burlington, had now proceeded as far as Burton-on-Trent, at the head of four thousand men, commanded by Colonel Cavendish; and, on the very day of the victory at Roundaway, was met by the King, who conducted her to Oxford.

Bristol soon after surrendered to the Royal arms under Prince Maurice, which gave the full tide of prosperity to the King's affairs, and placed him almost in a situation of dictating terms of peace. But he was the same unruffled, indulgent Prince, and published a declaration couched in the most honourable and conciliating terms. It was read and admired by all men and applauded "as a most gracious and undeniable instance of his Majesty's clemency and justice;" and peace had now inevitably taken place, had it not been for those designing and flagitious agitators, many of whom had sprung up with the times, and, who saw that such an event would frustrate all their hopes of confusion and plunder. Every effort was, therefore, made to prevent the vote of the two Houses for peace, being carried into effect. The seditious Preachers next day, filled all the pulpits with alarms of ruin and destruction to the city, if peace were now offered to the King—they

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

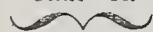
Crisis of the  
King's prosper-  
ity.



SECTION even invented the falsehood that *twenty thousand*

IV.

CHAP. II.



Suddenly  
changes.

*Irish Rebels had just landed* ; and printed papers were placarded, stating that the *malignant* party had outvoted the GODLY ; and, if not prevented, a peace would take place injurious to their liberties, religion, and laws. But why should I enlarge ? Their arts prevailed. Many of the more honourable Members of Parliament retired, and the propositions of peace were rejected. This was evidently the crisis of the Civil War ; and the only time when a reconciliation was practicable ; because, it was the only time that the Parliament was sincere in its proposals for peace. From this time, a new era begins—the nation is given up to follow vicious counsels, until, after a long period of suffering, arising from the inroads of fanatical violence and military despotism, it should desire the re-establishment of its monarchical government on its ancient foundations.

The aspect of affairs now rapidly changed. A council of war was held at Bristol, the result of which was, that Prince Maurice and the Earl of Carnarvon marched into the West, and the King towards Gloucester, which he besieged ; a circumstance which afforded Parliament sufficient time to recover from its fears—compose their differences and recruit their army : and it is remarkable as discovering an overruling hand inflicting a just chastisement on a rebellious nation, that the siege was undertaken contrary to the judgment of the



King and all his Officers, being brought on by the insolent answer sent by the Governor to his Majesty's summons: nor would the siege have proved such a fatal error, had it not been protracted by the secret ambition of the Earl of Newcastle, who, from his hitherto unchecked prosperity, began to think himself the destined deliverer of his country, so that, when the King sent him a command to leave the siege of Hull, and form a junction with his own forces, he pretended that his principal Officers were unwilling to march till they had effected the reduction of that place.

Whilst the King was thus wasting his strength before Gloucester, the most active exertions were made by Parliament; and in the month of August, the Earl of Essex marched to the relief of that place. The King retired on his approach, and drew off his forces to Evesham, intending to cut off the General's retreat: but the Earl of Essex under cover of a dark night, passed the King's army, and was twenty-four hour's march in advance, before his movements were discovered.—Prince Rupert was immediately dispatched, with five thousand horse, to overtake and divert the enemy, till the main army could be brought up. He marched day and night over the hills; and accomplished his orders with incredible celerity: for, before the van of the Parliamentary Army had cleared Auburn chase, intending to reach Newbury that night, the Prince's cavalry unexpectedly

SECTION  
IV.

CHAP. II.

Military  
movements in  
September,  
A. D. 1643.



SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.

appeared, and attacked their rear with such impetuosity, that although they fought like brave men, they were thrown into disorder, and a great number of their bravest men were slain. By this sudden encounter, the enemy was delayed till the King arrived, with his army and cannon. Such also, had been his expedition, that when the Earl of Essex had advanced from Hungerford with the hope of gaining Newbury, he found the King's infantry had been in possession of it some hours.

Battle of  
Newbury.

The next morning the Earl of Essex, drew up his forces in excellent order. The battle raged from six o'clock in the morning, till the shades and darkness of night intervened, and was maintained with equal bravery on both sides. The King and Queen were both spectators of this well fought field, which though not decisive, was still in the King's favour: for, he remained in possession of the field, pursued the enemy next day, with great execution, and relieved the garrison of Reading. On the other hand, the whole enterprise, from his leaving London to the relief of Gloucester, and his return with the remnant of his army, was conducted by the Earl of Essex with admirable conduct and courage. On the King's side, fell the Earl of Sunderland, a young nobleman of the greatest promise; and his Majesty experienced a still greater loss in the death of the Earl of Carnarvon, one of the best educated and most accomplished noblemen of his day. But his



great endowments were sullied and corrupted by the too eager pursuit of pleasure. His energies, however, were roused at the approach of war.— He disengaged himself from the ignominious bondage of licentious pleasures, and stood forth, in all the manliness and freedom of virtue. He devoted himself to the duties of his profession. He was active, brave, laborious, and severe. He was endowed also with great presence of mind, which enabled him to make the best of every advantage in the hour of danger.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

But the greatest loss of all, on the King's side, was that of the incomparable Lord Falkland. He was a patriot indeed! In the commencement of the struggle between the King and Parliament, no man laboured more strenuously to secure the liberty of the subject and the privilege of Parliament. But such was his integrity, that when the leaders ceased to be honest, he never failed to express his abhorrence of their perfidy. After the war broke out, he never left the side of his royal master, and, whenever any overture of an accommodation was made, after a short silence, as if lost in thought, he would heave a deep sigh, and in melancholy accents, he would ingeminate the word PEACE, PEACE! and would often say, *that the agony of the war, and the calamities of his Country, robbed him of his sleep, and would shortly break his heart.* Yet no person was more bold in danger, or of keener courage in the day of battle.

The Death  
of Lord Falk-  
land.

A. D. 1643.



SECTION V.  
CHAP. II.

On the morning of his death, his friends endeavoured to dissuade him from engaging in the fight, as he was not a military Officer; but, he declared: *He was weary of the times, and foresaw the greatest misery to his Country; and firmly believed he should escape from it, before night.* He was in his thirty-fourth year; and, to use the words of a contemporary writer: “had so well dispatched the business of life, that the oldest rarely attain to that knowledge, and the youngest enter not into the world with more innocency.”

Invasion of the Scots, and

The Parliament, with all the supplies of the kingdom at its command, must now have yielded to the superior courage, and constitutional loyalty of the country, had they not called to their assistance, the Scots whom they had already propitiated by calling an assembly of Divines at Westminster, for the settlement of Ecclesiastical affairs. But there were great difficulties in the way. The Scots had been well paid for their past services: they had been gratified in every request they had made, and they had nothing left to wish, except a vehement desire for the universal establishment of Presbyterianism.

Their famous  
Covenant.

The Parliament was aware of their “ruling passion.” Sir H Vane the most subtle and contemptible of the leaders, undertook the embassy with other Commissioners; and the Scots, although bound by the most solemn engagements to the maintenance of Peace, called a convention of the



Estates, and entered into a treaty with Parliament, which they entitled: "A SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT for the reformation and defence of religion, the honor and happiness of the King, and the safety of the three Kingdoms."

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

The league and covenant, on its arrival in London, was dispatched to their "assembly of Divines" at Westminster, who had long been purged by persecutions and desertions, of all its loyal, constitutional and episcopal members: and the whole assembly was entirely at the devotion of Parliament. After a short debate, they concluded upon the "lawfulness and piety" of the Covenant, and the twenty-fifth of September, was appointed for its formal ratification. On that day, the two houses and the members of the assembly met in St. Margaret's Church. The covenant was eulogized "as the most extraordinary instrument that was ever executed:" intended, "to advance the kingdom of Christ here on earth, and make Jerusalem, once more, the praise of the whole earth." Future events have shewn how little of these extravagant expectations were to be accomplished. In fact, it was a solemn farce; and the principal actors did not believe a word of these statements. We are acquainted with the private sentiments of many of them, and Sir H. Vane, the chief promoter of the Covenant, is known to have entertained an entire abhorrence of the Presbyterians and their Covenant! Nor will the stubborn facts of history

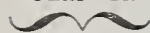
Approved by  
the Assembly,  
and ratified by  
Parliament.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.



permit us to think more favorably of it. Through the power and influence of their Scotch friends, the Presbyterian Divines were now in the ascendant; and, we must judge of men from their actions. Men may entertain correct notions of christian doctrine and be sincere in maintaining them; but if they act under the impressions of a mistaken or disordered judgment, their character and conduct will, in like proportion, be depraved. Making, therefore, the most charitable allowances for the Presbyterian ministers, and giving them credit for sincerity, we must conclude that they acted under the impression of a perverted judgment. But whether this was the moving cause of their actions, or, whether they were actuated by more selfish and wicked motives, all their prophetic hallucinations were *brought to nought*, by Him who abhorred their rebellion; and who intended to rebuke "their madness" by results so monstrous, and so entirely at variance with their anticipations, that the extravagance of their folly might be fully manifest, and stand forth as an example to all generations.

Persecution  
of the Clergy.

Havoc was now made of the unoffending clergy, the Covenant was ordered to be read in all the churches and became the test of orthodoxy. The rights of conscience were thrown to the winds; and thousands of the clergy were ejected from their homes without provision, and thrown upon the world, for adhering to the Church and King.



Never, surely, was there a more barbarous and cruel persecution; and it would require a History to do justice to their privations and sufferings. Nor is it possible, at the same time, to overlook the character of their punishment. It was evidently the chastisement of a DIVINE HAND inflicting upon them a just retribution for the sins of their prosperity—for their pride and intolerance—their formalism and lukewarmness.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

But the obstinate and fanatical spirit which inspired their persecutors, was not to be satiated with confiscations and imprisonments, but demanded a more horrible sacrifice—the life of the innocent and venerable Archbishop whose exemplary patience and meekness during four years of close imprisonment, might have disarmed the hostility of the most savage and untutored heathens. Perhaps never was there a more wanton thirsting for blood. His power and influence were gone. Even the very order of Episcopacy was abolished, and he was a prisoner in their own custody. But no matter. The unrelenting spirit of Presbyterianism must be appeased; and he was brought forth from his dungeon to ratify the sanctity of the Covenant, with the spectacle of his Trial and Execution. The former was a mockery—the latter was a glorious exhibition of every quality which can adorn the Christian and the Martyr.

Trial of the  
Archbishop.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.



The House of Lords in vain endeavoured to find out the crime of High Treason of which he was accused. They referred his case to the Judges, who unanimously pronounced him “not guilty.” But in the eyes of his accusers he was guilty of one unpardonable crime—of having been an *Archbishop*.

His Martyr-  
dom.

When he reached the scaffold, he appeared as if he came to celebrate a triumph. He spoke for some time with great clearness and composure, prefacing his discourse with the words of the Apostle: “Let us run with patience the race set before us, looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith.” Then calmly approaching the block, he said: “God’s will be done.” At this moment, the venerable sufferer, was rudely accosted by Sir John Clotworthy, who put some impertinent question to him, which he answered with all christian meekness, and turning to the executioner, he gave him money, saying: “honest friend, God forgive thee, I do: and do thou thy office upon me with mercy.” Then laying his head upon the block, and praying silently to himself, he cried aloud, “Lord receive my soul;” and at one blow his head was severed from his body.

Thus perished Dr. William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, by the hands of lawless violence and religious intolerance, as the instruments of Him who hath said: “*Vengeance is mine I will*



*repay.*" By a mistaken zeal for uniformity he had exercised harsh and unsparing judgments; and had attempted to establish his power by maintaining arbitrary and tyrannical principles; than which, nothing can be more repugnant to the maxims of christianity, or, more odious to the just and indulgent Father of the Universe. But whilst it pleased God in this public manner to punish him for the rash exercise of a public trust which had been committed to him, he did not forsake his servant in the hour of trial; but encouraged and supported him by his presence. His zeal became more tempered with charity. His piety more adorned with humility; and, his ardour more chastised with patience. So that, whatever may have been the faults of his administration, he came forth from the trial like gold which had been purified in the fire; and we are compelled to exclaim on reviewing his character: "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright for the end of that man is peace!"

The trial of the Archbishop was ushered in by the death of another of the principal leaders of the Commons. In the beginning of the contest he was, what every man should be, a strenuous assertor of the public liberty; but he degenerated with the times, and became the most determined and implacable opponent of all accommodation between the King and Parliament. He had a principal share in all the measures of his party;

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

The death of  
Mr. Pym.



SECTION and was particularly solicitous, at this period, for the arrival of the Scots. But he was not permitted to welcome this dishonor upon his country. He was suddenly taken off to answer for his actions to Him who made him. Unfortunately, the circumstances of his death have not been clearly ascertained. Clarendon and others assert, that he was struck with the disease called “*Morbus Pediculosus*”—that he became a most loathsome spectacle, and died in great torment. *Rushworth* denies it. But be it as it may, his memory, as his actions, is execrable.

IV.

CHAP. II.

Rise of the  
Independents,

The Presbyterian, or, extreme Puritan party, through calling in the alliance of the Scots, was, as we have observed in the ascendant; but another faction was at work—virulent, republican, desperate. These were the “Independents” whose origin we have noticed in the reign of Elizabeth under the name of “Brownists.” There were extremely few of these separatists, at that time, in London. Some of their Preachers sat in the Assembly of Divines, under the name of “the dissenting brethren,” but uniting to themselves every wild enthusiast in politics and religion to which the times gave birth, the Hydra of the revolutionary mania embodied itself in this sect, and was destined, under its extraordinary leader to tread under its feet the towering fabric of Presbyterian intolerance.



Oliver Cromwell, of whom the reader has had a glance on one or two occasions, must now be brought more fully under review, as the person in whom the evil genius of the movement was to enshrine itself, and render itself visible to all posterity. He was the younger son of a gentleman of Huntingdon; and, after finishing his education, which, through his disgraceful idleness, left him almost as ignorant as it found him, he returned home, became notoriously profligate in his habits, and the ringleader of all that was base and disorderly in the neighbourhood of his father's residence.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

In this state of mind, prepared for every extravagance, he came in contact with some ultra Puritans; and became a convert, not to the pure and simple dictates of christianity, but to all the peculiarities which those rigid enthusiasts had engrafted upon it. He became a religious votary—associated with the fanatical party—pretended to dreams, impulses, transports, and all the other concomitants of a fervid and distempered imagination. He was of a resolute and brutal temper, rough in conversation, restless and deceitful; but his distinguishing characteristic was a radical hypocrisy which served him on every emergency, and enabled him to triumph over all opposition.

Cromwell  
becomes a fan-  
atic,

In the commencement of the war, he was appointed Captain of a troop of horse: soon after,

and a Soldier.



SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.

he was made Colonel, and raised a body of 1000 horse, with which he scoured the county, harrassed the King's friends and obstructed his levies. Emboldened by his success, he advanced into Lincolnshire, and approaching Gainsborough, he countered a party of the King's forces under the brave and accomplished Colonel Cavendish, who fell in the action—the first illustrious victim to the fanatical zeal of Cromwell.

The Scots, who had received £100,000 as a foretaste of the liberality of Parliament, were now in motion, and General Lesley now Earl of Leven, who had solemnly sworn never to bear arms against the King, consented to take the command of their army. As a preparatory step, they published a long declaration insisting upon the “justness,” “lawfulness,” and “piety” of their invasion, although at variance with every principle of honor, and a direct violation of the late *act of pacification*.

Sir Thomas  
Fairfax and  
Colonel Monk.

Whilst the Scots, who had passed the Tweed on the fifteenth of January, were advancing, the fight of Nantwich, in Cheshire, took place, a relation of which must not be omitted, because it brings upon the stage two individuals, each destined to act a prominent part in subsequent events. The first was Sir Thomas Fairfax, who undertook to relieve Nantwich, besieged by Lord Byron for the King—a service which he performed with uncommon skill and bravery. Lord Byron



was obliged to retire to Chester, whilst all his cannon and stores, with fifteen hundred prisoners fell to the hands of the victors. Amongst the prisoners, was Colonel George Monk, who was sent to London, and confined for many years in the Tower. The first, soon after, became supreme General under the Parliament; and the other, at a later period, became the honored instrument of the Restoration!

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

Whilst the country was thus bleeding at every vein, the King and his adherents had recourse to another expedient for remedying these dreadful evils. A Proclamation, was issued by the King, for summoning to Oxford those members who had deserted the Parliament at Westminster. The summons was obeyed by all who had not the command of Regiments; and, when assembled, far out-numbered the miserable Junto who remained at St. Stephens. A letter was drawn up by them of the most conciliating and patriotic character, and despatched to the Earl of Essex, who, in return enclosed a copy of the "League and Covenant" with a declaration, made in conjunction with the Scots, of the most fanatical and profane description—affording another fatal example, that when men have once prevailed upon themselves to break through the plain and settled maxims of Christianity, and violated the plainest obligations of duty; whilst appealing to religion for support, they are deluded by the suggestions of a diseased

Parliament.  
at Oxford.



SECTION IV.  
 CHAP. II.  
 imagination ; and become exposed to all the evils of a presumptuous enthusiasm. As for the Earl of Essex himself, after the rejection of the Oxford Proposition, nothing but disappointment attended him to the day of his death.

The War proceeded with redoubled fury. Sir Thomas Fairfax, with all the vigor and activity of a successful General, had no sooner raised the siege of Nantwich than he hastened to form a junction with his father, Lord Fairfax, and the Scots under the Earl of Leven, who had undertaken the siege of York just after it had been reinforced by the Earl, now Marquis of Newcastle with a body of fifteen thousand men. The United Scots and Parliamentarians amounted to twenty-four thousand men. The siege had now lasted nine weeks, and the besieged were reduced to the last extremity. At such a juncture, Prince Rupert was the only person who could be relied upon ; and the Marquis, who had formerly expressed an aversion to serve under him, wrote a letter to the King in which he said “he hoped his Majesty did believe that he would never make the least scruple to obey the grandchild of King James.” But this was more a flourish of the pen, than a true expression of his mind. He still possessed that “haughty spirit” which can brook no rival, and which generally proves its own destruction. The open-hearted Prince no sooner received his Majesty’s commands than,

Siege of York.  
 A. D. 1644.

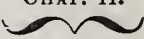


leaving a brilliant series of martial exploits, the last of which was the capture of Liverpool, he hastened with his usual intrepidity to York, from which the confederates retired at his approach. But it did not suit the genius of a Prince who never asked when in pursuit of his enemies "how many" there were, but "where" they were, to rest satisfied with an empty appearance of triumph; and he resolved to pursue the enemy and give them battle. The Marquis of Newcastle was strongly opposed to this counsel: but the Prince being in command, prevailed. The two armies nearly equal in strength, were drawn up in battalia on Marston Moor, about three o'clock in the afternoon, on the second day of July. Never was a field of battle more bravely contested. The two Fairfaxes, and the Earl of Leven, with his Scotch mercenaries, were beaten out of the field by Prince Rupert, who commanded the left wing, and by Goring who led on the main battle; but to the ruin of the day they pursued their enemies too far. For the right wing which was led by the Marquis of Newcastle, being routed by the Earl of Manchester, who led the left of the enemy and not pursuing his advantage too far, he was enabled to prevent the Prince and Goring who had now returned, from rallying their forces, which, about ten o'clock at night, put an end to the conflict. Most writers assert that the honor of the day was due to the resolution and

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.


 Battle of  
Marston Moor.



SECTION management of Cromwell, Lieutenant-General to  
 IV. the Earl of Manchester. But Hollis positively  
 CHAP. II. denies it; and gives that honor to Major General  
 Crawford.

Extraordi- But whilst the confederate army had the best  
 nary conduct of the day, the King's Generals were yet in a  
 of the Marquis. condition to have harrassed the enemy and driven  
 them out of the country; and there can be no  
 doubt but the firm union of these two great men  
 would have turned the scale of victory on the  
 King's side. But to the astonishment of all the  
 world, the Marquis of Newcastle overcome with  
 vexation of spirit broke up his camp; and, re-  
 tiring with a few friends to Scarborough, took  
 ship and ingloriously deserted his country. At  
 the same instant, the Prince drew off his forces  
 and retired to Chester.

After such a fatal disaster the termination of  
 the war seemed inevitable. But the vigour and  
 resources of the constitutional party, were yet far  
 from being subdued, and they continued to men-  
 tain the struggle with incredible perseverance.

Military talent The Parliament now determined to strike a de-  
 of the King. cisive blow, and despatched the Earl of Essex and  
 Sir W. Waller with two armies, each equal to  
 that which attended the King at Oxford. The  
 Parliamentary forces marched with great rapidity,  
 and advanced as far as Woodstock and Newbridge,  
 and effectually enclosed the King, so that his con-  
 dition was desperate, and to all human appear-



ance, his Children and Counsellors and Army were now in their possession. The King was even advised to capitulate, but he rejected the proposal with indignation, and said, that possibly he might be found in the hands of Essex, but not as a voluntary prisoner. Armed with this resolution, having ordered all things for the safety of the City, like a wise Counsellor and experienced commander, on the third of June, about nine in the evening, he marched out of the "North Port," with his horse and part of the foot, passed between the two armies without observation, and before day-break had reached Harborough, some miles beyond all their quarters. He pursued his march over the Cotswold, and, about midnight, found himself at Barton-upon-Water in Gloucestershire. The two Parliamentary armies were by this time in the pursuit. But the King reached Worcester in safety.

Essex finding it was impossible to overtake the King, was obliged to change his counsels; and Waller was ordered to attend his motions whilst he himself went to the relief of Lyme in Dorsetshire, besieged by Prince Maurice. The King had now accomplished his design, and divided the armies; and his great object was now to place himself in a condition to fight with Waller, who pursued him with his usual vigour and resolution. In order to accomplish this, he drew off his forces to Bewdley, keeping the Severn between himself and Waller's

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

Splendid  
martial ex-  
ploits.



SECTION IV.  
 CHAP. II. army, and made a feint as if he intended to march to Shrewsbury. Waller was deceived by this movement, and marched with all his forces in that direction. The King, immediately fell back upon Worcester and Evesham, where he arrived before Waller had any intelligence of his movements. From thence he advanced with his little army to Broadway, and early next morning mounted the hills at Cambden, where they found time to breathe, and to look, with satisfaction, over the difficult country through which they had passed. At Burford the King was met by all his infantry and cannon with transports of joy; and on Thursday, the twentieth of June, after having performed one of the most brilliant exploits recorded in military annals, he entered Oxford in triumph.

The King, in his turn, now went in pursuit of Sir W. Waller; the two armies came in sight of each other near Banbury, where Waller had possessed himself of an advantageous piece of ground. On perceiving this, the King by some dexterous movements, caused him to leave his position; and drew him into an action at Cropedy Bridge, where he was entirely disabled from further action, and with his shattered forces, he was compelled to retire to London for recruits.

Conduct of  
 Essex.

In the mean time, the Earl of Essex having raised the siege of Lyme, was on his way to Exeter, where the Queen was confined to her room, having given birth on the sixteenth of June



to the Princess Henrietta, afterwards married to the Duke of Orleans. On hearing of the approach of Essex, her Majesty sent a messenger to him, to desire a safe conduct to Bath or Bristol, for the recovery of her health, which he sullenly refused; but offered her a convoy to London. This she could not accept, and removing from Exeter, on the fourteenth of July, she took shipping at Falmouth, and arrived safely at Brest.

SECTION  
IV.

CHAP. II.

But the unchivalrous conduct of Essex was to receive its just chastisement. The King alarmed at the danger of his Royal Consort, and having no enemy to contend with, resolved to pursue him, which he did with such rapidity and perseverance that he reached Exeter a few days after the Queen had left it, WHOM HE NEVER SAW AGAIN. He lost no time, but followed the Earl into Cornwall, where, enclosing him on every side, he was reduced to the utmost extremity, and the General himself, with his principal officers, having made their escape by sea, his army was obliged to surrender at discretion.

The army of  
the Earl of Es-  
sex destroyed.

The King on his return, was every where successful, and entertained the design of approaching London; but, having despatched the Earl of Northampton with three regiments of horse to the relief of Banbury, he was surprised by the Parliamentary forces under the Earl of Manchester and Sir W. Waller, and obliged to give them battle under great disadvantages. The battle was

Second battle  
of Newbury.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.



fought with great bravery on both sides; and continued from break of day till night, when the King, who had suffered much less than the enemy, continued his march upon Oxford, where, having strengthened his army, he returned to the field of the late conflict and offered battle, which was not accepted; and retiring with drums beating and colours flying, he ended the campaign by returning to Oxford.

Death of Sir  
Alexander Carew.

The clamour for peace was now so urgent, that the Parliament were obliged, for the sake of appearance, to consent to negotiate with the King, but not with the least intention of concluding a peace. But before the Commissioners could meet, the retributory judgment of the Most High fell upon several of the leaders and promoters of these calamities. The first, was Sir Alexander Carew who, from the beginning, had concurred with the Parliament in their most violent proceedings; and was deeply involved in the political murder of the Earl of Strafford. Such was his fury against that Nobleman, that he declared; *if he was sure to suffer next upon the same scaffold, and with the same axe, he would pass the bill against him.* He was now brought to trial for holding a correspondence with the King, with the intention of delivering up the citadel of Portsmouth. He was condemned to die, and on the twenty-third of December was brought to the scaffold on Tower hill, where with great remorse, he confessed his



“Pride and stout-heartedness,” and suffering under the hand of the executioner, he remarkably fulfilled the terms of his imprecation, by dying the very next man on the same scaffold, and by the same axe, as the Earl of Strafford.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

Next to him, suffered the two Hothams, Sir John and his Son, who might have prevented the whole war, had they opened the gates of Hull, at the summons of the King. Their refusal was the first act of treason, and a dreadful responsibility rested upon their heads. They were now condemned on slight grounds; one, for harbouring the Lord Digby in Hull, and the other, for a letter which he wrote to the Marquis of Newcastle, and being brought to the scaffold, they perished miserably in great abjectness of spirit, under circumstances of great hardship and cruelty.

Death of the  
two Hothams.

Nor did the Scotch escape the punishment which was due to their treachery and rebellion. The flame of civil war broke out, and raged with great fury throughout that Kingdom. The Marquis of Montrose, roused by the injustice of his countrymen, with a handful of men and even without arms, undertook the King's cause; and in a few months with almost miraculous success, won three remarkable battles, one at Perth, another at Aberdeen, and a third at Iverlogh. In short, he undertook such formidable enterprizes, prevailed in such desperate attempts, that his performances

The Earl of  
Montrose.



SECTION partake of the fabulous ; and would require a distinct history to do them justice.

IV.

CHAP. II.

The treaty of  
Uxbridge.  
A. D. 1645.

In the mean time, Commissioners of the King and Parliament met at Uxbridge, on the thirtieth day of January, and after debating point by point for eighteen days, separated without coming to an agreement on any one proposition. Indeed, throughout the whole treaty, it is evident that there was not the least prospect of an adjustment, unless the King would have sacrificed his reason, his honour, and his country. The Parliament insisted upon the same fundamental changes, and did not allow their Commissioners any authority to depart from the letter of their instructions. An absurd story has gained a place in our history, as a solemn matter of fact, that the King the night previous to the breaking up of the treaty, had expressed a willingness to accede to the propositions of Parliament, but that his resolution was changed by a letter, which he received, during the night, from the Marquis of Montrose, detailing his victories in Scotland, and assuring his Majesty, that he would soon march to his assistance. Nothing can be more improbable. The Parliamentary Commissioners had not power to treat ; and had the King accepted their propositions as they were offered to him, they would, as effectually have deprived him of his crown and dignity, as they afterwards did, when they took away his life ; and to use the language of a writer, in no degree par-



tial to the royal cause; "It was more for his honor to resolve, THAT THE MONARCHY SHOULD NOT BE MURDERED BEFORE THE KING." \* SECTION IV. CHAP. II.

The fury of the political tempest was now at its height—Strife and confusion, anarchy and licentiousness, confiscations and imprisonments and slaughters, with all their long train of aggravating evils, everywhere, prevailed. But the demon of the storm was at hand, who should, for a season, compose the discordant elements, and bring them under his control; till awakening reason, resuming her just prerogative, should, by the force of her power, drive the usurper from his throne.

The "Independents" who at the commencement of the struggle, were few in number; had now greatly augmented both their numbers and influence, and began, openly, to oppose the measures of the Presbyterian party. These last, were the allies of the Scots, who were for retaining the Monarchy, in conjunction with their idol, "the COVENANT." They had powerful leaders, Hollis, Stapleton, Glyn, Waller, Long, with all the Peers except the Lord Say. But nothing could withstand the resolute and pervading genius of Cromwell, who led the Independents. His compeers also were deep and subtle, and well-fitted to act their impious and desperate parts in the tragedy to be enacted—Fiennes, Vane, Hazlerigg, and Martin.

\* Complete History of England.



SECTION Cromwell had already prepared the way for

IV. the ultimate triumph of his party. With the

CHAP. II.

penetration of a master-mind he observed, that  
 Preparations of Cromwell. the King's success had hitherto been determined

by the invincible courage of his cavalry. Searching into the grounds of this superiority, he discovered it to consist in a *sense of honor*, by which, as Gentlemen, they were inspired. He determined to create a counteracting power in his own soldiers: and instead of a sense of honor, with which it was impossible to inspire them, he studied to infuse into them the *Spirit of Fanaticism*. He chose from the swarming sectaries the greatest zealots, both as officers and men—employed preachers to instil the motives which he wished them to adopt—whilst he himself at their head, like another Mahomet pretended to divine impulses, and, imposing upon their zeal and credulity, he persuaded them to believe *that they engaged for God when he led them against the King; and that as it was God's cause, those who fell in battle, died in his favour*. Where this persuasion met with a natural courage it added ferocity to boldness; and, where natural courage was wanting, zeal supplied its place, and inspired an obstinacy which chose rather to die than yield.

His deep-laid  
 plan.

Having thus prepared materials for his designs, his next object was to obtain an opportunity of putting them into execution. Accordingly a project was set on foot, for obtaining the command



of the army. But the difficulties in the way seemed almost insurmountable. Three of the most able and popular men of the day, Essex, Manchester, and Waller, were to be removed. But all difficulties melted away before the deep laid schemes of the Independent leaders. They had recourse to their Divines and Preachers; and, having obtained the appointment of a solemn fast day, in which they would SEEK GOD—a phrase introduced with the Covenant—the pulpits were filled with alarming apprehensions of the divine displeasure against the pride and selfishness of the popular leaders, intimating “that God would take his own work into his hands, and if the instruments he had already employed, were not worthy to bring so glorious a design to a conclusion, that he would inspire others more fit, who might perfect what was begun, and bring the troubles of the nation to a Godly period.”

The next day their Leaders in the Commons took up the theme, and Sir H. Vane, first, with an impiety, which one hopes has no parallel in the History of man, told the House—“that if God had ever appeared to man it was in the *exercises* of yesterday, and that it proceeded from the immediate spirit of God was plain, because all the Godly Preachers dwelt upon the same topic.”

Oliver Cromwell followed in the same hypocritical strain, not with greater subtilty: but

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

The Presby-  
terian leaders  
retire.



SECTION with greater versatility of genius, and concluded  
 IV. by moving "that an ordinance be prepared to  
 CHAP. II. make it unlawful for any member of either House  
 to hold any office in the army, or, any place in  
 the State." This was called the "Self-denying  
 Ordinance," and after a strenuous debate was  
 carried in the affirmative; and like the sudden  
 thunder-bolt, at one blow, it laid in ruins all the  
 hopes and projects of those who had embarked in  
 the cause of the Parliament. The Earls of Essex  
 and Manchester, Sir W. Waller, and other Com-  
 manders, whose design was to humble and cir-  
 cumscribe the Monarchy; and, who, to gain the  
 assistance of the Scots had consented to change  
 the Ecclesiastical Regime, were obliged to lay  
 down their commands and retire from the contest.

Army secured  
 to Cromwell.

Cromwell, of course, like other officers of the  
 army, was included in the provisions of the Ordi-  
 nance—but it was never intended that he should  
 comply with them. Immediately after the pas-  
 sing of the ordinance, he was despatched into the  
 West to the relief of Taunton, and during his ab-  
 sence, as if totally unacquainted with the project,  
 Sir Thomas Fairfax, the new General, wrote a  
 letter to the House to request, "that they would  
 give leave to Lieutenant General Cromwell to  
 stay with him *a few days* for his better informa-  
 tion, without which he should not be able to  
 accomplish what they expected from him." This  
 was too reasonable a request to be denied; and,



being so easily obtained, it was soon followed by another request from the General—"that they would allow Cromwell to remain with him during that campaign." It is inconceivable how such men as Essex and Waller could allow themselves to be imposed upon by such shallow artifices—but their power was gone, and, by a just retribution they were doomed to see the fruits of their own rash and infatuated conduct. In the name of Fairfax, Cromwell new-modelled the army; and, for the future, conducted all the military transactions of the period.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

Conquest of  
Leicester.

A new scene now opens before us. Fairfax and Cromwell left Windsor Castle towards the end of April, to watch the motion of the King's army, and advanced to Oxford. To divert them from making any attempt on that place, the King invested the town of Leicester, which, after a gallant resistance, was obliged to yield to the desperate assaults of the Royal forces. Such a display of successful courage, gained the Royal army great reputation. The Parliament was astonished at the sudden news. The Royalists persuaded themselves that their triumph was not far distant; and the King himself, in a letter to the Queen, stated that "his affairs were never in a more hopeful condition." But alas! he was on the brink of ruin! He had done enough for his own honor and for the constitutional liberties of his country; and was about to be delivered up to



SECTION his enemies as a victim to lawless violence and  
IV. fanatical fury.

CHAP. II.

Battle of  
Naseby.

After the storming of Leicester, the King drew off his forces to Banbury, with the intention of guarding Oxford, and obtaining reinforcements from his Western army. But in this state of inactivity, he was surprised by the intelligence that Sir Thomas Fairfax was advancing towards him. He made the best preparations, with his diminished forces, to receive him; and drew up his army on an advantageous rising ground, about a mile south of Harborough. But receiving false intelligence, that the enemy had retired, he was induced to leave his position; and had scarcely proceeded on his march, when he beheld the enemy drawn up on a rising ground near Naseby.

The impatience of Prince Rupert could never endure the sight of an enemy, and, before the necessary arrangements could be made, led on the attack—overthrew Ireton's troops, and took him prisoner, with six pieces of cannon. Lord Astley at the head of his troop, had the same success, and threw the enemy into great disorder. But the left wing, under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, advancing up the hill, were encountered by superior numbers, and put to flight by Cromwell, who despatching a portion of his horse to prevent them from rallying, turned round upon the King's foot, which, by this manœuvre were placed in a perilous situation. At this moment, the King



advanced at the head of his guards, which in all probability would have retrieved the loss of the left wing, when, on a sudden, the Earl of Carnarvon cried out to him "will you go upon your death in an instant?" at the same moment laying hold of his horse's rein, which turned him round; and, before the King could interfere, the word "turn to the right" went through the troops, which caused them to turn their backs upon the enemy, which, a moment before, they were about to charge. By this time, Prince Rupert had returned from his successful pursuit: but the moment was gone: the battle could not be restored, although the King with great hazard and magnanimity, made every effort to rally his forces, crying out: "one charge more and we recover the day." But it was all in vain. He was obliged to retire, and left Fairfax and Cromwell entire masters of the field.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

The loss which the King sustained on this fatal day was irreparable: for, besides one hundred and fifty officers and gentlemen of quality who fell in the action, most of his infantry were taken prisoners, with his baggage and artillery: nor was this havoc sufficient to satiate the Moloch of Fanaticism. Women were offered to its revenge; and more than a hundred were slain in the pursuit; many of whom, were ladies of quality. The King's cabinet was taken, containing his private correspondence, and they dishonourably published

The Victory  
complete.



SECTION such portions of it, as they thought might create a  
 IV. prejudice against him.

CHAP. II.

King's letter  
 to Prince Ru-  
 pert.

The Royalists were still confident in their cause; and entertained strong hopes that a peace might still be secured. Even Prince Rupert entertained the vain idea; and wrote a letter with that view to the Duke of Richmond, to be presented to the King—a circumstance, indeed, which it would have been unnecessary to record, was it not to introduce the King's answer, which, in a few words displays the high qualifications of the Monarch, both as a soldier, a statesman, and a christian: “If I had any quarrel but the defence of my *religion, crown, and friends*, you had full reason for your advice. For I confess, that speaking, either as a mere *soldier* or *statesman*, I must say, there is no probability but of ruin; but as a christian, I must tell you, that God will not suffer rebels to prosper, or his cause to be overthrown: and whatever *personal punishment* it shall please Him to inflict on me, must not make me repine, *much less to give over this quarrel*; for I know my obligations to be both in *conscience and honor*, neither to abandon *God's cause*, *injure my successors*, nor *forsake my friends*. As for the Irish, I assure you, they shall not cheat me, but it is possible they may cozen themselves: for be assured, what I have refused to the *English*, I will not grant to the *Irish* rebels.”



Whilst the King was on his march to relieve Hereford, besieged by the Scots, he received intelligence that Bristol, which was his chief strength and reliance, had been invested by Sir Thomas Fairfax. He was on the point of turning his arms in that direction, when a letter from Prince Rupert, saying that he would undertake to defend it full four months, encouraged him to proceed to Hereford which he entered in triumph.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

Surrender of  
Bristol.

But his heart was set on the relief of Bristol, and with that view he transmitted to the Prince a scheme of military movements, which he intended to put in execution. But before he had time to put his army in motion, he received the astonishing news of its surrender.

The King felt that this was a decisive blow, and performed the duty of a General with admirable promptitude and decision. He wrote to the Prince, and without indulging in one irritating expression, recalled his commission and gave him orders to leave the kingdom. But the Prince followed the King to Newark, where he had an interview with his offended Sovereign, who submitted his case to his Council: and after a debate of two days, the Prince received a written declaration, which cleared him from all imputations of *disloyalty* or *treason*; but not of *indiscretion*; and, soon after, with his brother Maurice, he left the kingdom.

Prince Ru-  
pert retires  
from the con-  
test.



## SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

Lord Digby  
retires.

In the mean-time, the Lord Digby who had never left the King, but when any desperate enterprise was to be achieved, had left Newark with a body of Horse to join the Marquis of Montrose; and, at Sherborne, fell in with a party of the enemy, which he attacked with great bravery, and routed; but his own men who had not come up, mistaking the fugitives for their fellows, fled with consternation. He advanced, however, as far as Dumfriesshire, when he was reduced to such extremity by desertion and fatigue, that he was obliged to give up his design. The Lord Digby, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the other officers, took shipping, and sailed to the Isle of Man.

Lord Goring  
retires.

The King, who, surrounded on all sides, was obliged to leave Newark; which he did, at midnight, with a body of five hundred horse, and, arrived safely at Oxford. At the same time, Lord Goring left his army in the West; and, on a sudden, returned to France. He was desperately courageous; his morals infamous, and his manners profligate: and had he intended to ruin the King's cause in the West, he could not have done it more effectually. Sir William Dugdale was informed, that he took upon him the habit of a Dominican Friar in Spain!

Lord Hopton  
covers the re-  
treat of the  
Prince of Wales

And next, the Lord Hopton, Commander-in-Chief under the Prince of Wales in Cornwall, was obliged to surrender to Sir Thomas Fairfax,



on the most honorable conditions, after having secured the flight of the Prince of Wales, who, accompanied by the Lord Capel and Colepeper, Sir Edw. Hyde and others, safely reached the Isle of Scilly. Lord Hopton retired from the conflict with the most unblemished honor, and the highest reputation for valour and conduct.

And last of all, the brave Lord Astley, who was on his march from Worcester to Oxford, with two thousand men, was surrounded, and after a desperate resistance totally defeated.

In Parliament, every proposition made by the King was rejected, and through the intrigues of the Independents, the greatest confusion prevailed in their counsels. The Scots finding their great idol disregarded, published a declaration against their propositions for peace, which effectually widened the breach between the contending factions in the House; whilst the adherents of Popery, who from the beginning, had fomented the quarrel, assailed the King, with their intrigues, through the Cardinal Mazarine, minister of France, who used every effort to induce the King to yield to the Presbyterians and abolish Episcopacy! A letter was even produced by the Scots, which they alleged to be written by the Queen, containing such expressions concerning religion, as utterly confounded the King, and led him to conclude, that the whole was a conspiracy between the Papists and the Presbyterians

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

Lord Astley  
retires.

Difficulties of  
the King.  
A. D. 1646.



SECTION against the Church. But although they could  
 IV. not prevail in this grand point, he was induced  
 CHAP. II. through the personal entreaties and promises of  
 Montrevil, the envoy of Mazarine, to enter into a  
 treaty with the Scots, and to entrust himself in  
 their hands.

The King re-  
 tires to the  
 Scottish Camp.

Although the King had entered their camp  
 with the most solemn assurance of safety, under  
 the hand of Montrevil, and in the name of the  
 King of France, yet the Scots affected to be sur-  
 prised at his arrival; and wrote the most dissem-  
 bling letters to the Committee of both kingdoms  
 at Westminster, in which they inform them of  
 the "strange Providence" which had happened,  
 assuring them that there had been "no treaty  
 between the King and them, or, any in their  
 names."

This unexpected event threw the two Houses  
 at Westminster into great perplexity; and, their  
 first resolution was to command their General to  
 raise the siege before Oxford, and to proceed to  
 Newcastle, to which place the Scots had directed  
 their march. But they were soon pacified by the  
 assurances of the Scotch Commissioners: "that  
 all their orders would meet with an absolute  
 obedience in their army." Upon which, a vote  
 of the House was immediately dispatched to the  
 Scotch army that "his Majesty's person should  
 be sent to Warwick castle."



But the Scots were not yet prepared to surrender all the advantages which they expected to derive from the “strange Providence” which had happened to them; and insisted strongly on the necessity of maintaining the King’s legal and constitutional rights. The King sent a gracious message to Parliament to say, “that he was willing to comply with everything which might be for the good of his subjects.” But the public good was a subject which little concerned the conflicting parties in Parliament, who determined, at all hazards, to secure their own individual interest.

By their specious representations the Scots prevailed upon the King to command the Marquis of Montrose to disband his army and retire from the kingdom—a command, which he obeyed with the greatest reluctance and profoundest grief; whilst a general order to the same effect was transmitted to all the governors of castles and fortresses, throughout the kingdom.

At this juncture, the Presbyterians were in the ascendant; and, had they now closed their negotiations with the King, they would have gained the day, and accomplished the grand object which the Scots had in view, on engaging in the quarrel. How remarkable that the Scots, through their covetousness, in prolonging the treaty concerning the King’s person, should have been the means of frustrating their own designs!

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

The Marquis  
of Montrose re-  
tires.

A. D. 1646.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

Propositions  
of Parliament.

In the meantime, high debates were carried on in Parliament, and the Independents contrived to introduce into the propositions which they were preparing to submit to the King, such conditions as would render it impossible for him to comply with them. After several months altercation, the propositions were completed; the substance of which was—the abolition of Episcopacy—the establishment of Presbyterianism—the relinquishment of the command of the militia, and the abandonment of all the nobility and clergy, who had adhered to the Royal cause.

Singular oc-  
currence.

The Duke of Hamilton who had now regained his liberty, conveyed to the King the first intelligence of these propositions, which he strongly urged him to accept. It was on the seventeenth of July that this Arch-deceiver and betrayer arrived at Newcastle; and, at the instant he approached the King's presence and was kneeling to kiss his hand, the sky, which had been perfectly tranquil and without a cloud, was suddenly overcast, and a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning threw the whole heavens into disorder—a circumstance which, might probably, have passed without notice, had not the same phenomenon happened soon after, when the Earl of Argyle was also approaching his Majesty for the purpose of testifying his allegiance—again the air thundered—the lightning flashed, and all nature seemed to testify her abhorrence of their treachery.



Every engine was now set at work to induce the captive monarch to comply with the Parliamentary propositions. Mr. Henderson, the famous Scotch Presbyter, was deputed to hold a solemn disputation with the King on the subject of Church Government, and repaired to him at Newcastle, provided with books and every assistance, to establish the *Divine Right* of Presbyterianism. My limits, I find, will not allow me to do justice to this remarkable conference.— Suffice it to say, that if the King's arms had been as strong as his arguments in favor of Episcopacy, he had been invincible. And it is remarkable to behold a Prince, without the assistance of men or books, successfully maintaining his ground against so great a Theologian, in a controversy which had exercised his thoughts and attention through his whole life. The circumstances attending the conference had a powerful influence on the mind of Henderson. He returned to Edinburgh, overwhelmed with grief and shame at the part he had taken in opposition to the King; and shortly after, on his death bed, published a solemn declaration to the Parliament and Synod of England, in which he owns “that they had been “abused with most false aspersions against his “Majesty: and declares that they ought to restore “him to his just rights, Royal throne and dignity, lest an indelible character of ingratitude “be upon them, that may turn to their ruin.”

SECTION  
IV.

CHAP. II.

The King's  
discussion with  
Henderson.



SECTION IV. Nor is this all. He left behind him the following  
 CHAP. II. character of the illustrious Monarch. "I do  
 declare before God and the world, whether in  
 relation to Kirk or State, I found his Majesty the  
 most intelligent man I ever spoke with; as far  
 beyond my expression, as expectation, I profess  
 that I was oftentimes astonished with the solidity  
 and quickness of his reasons and replies, wondered  
 how he, spending his time in sports and recrea-  
 tions, could have attained to so great knowledge;  
 and must confess that I was convinced in con-  
 science, and knew not how to give him any  
 reasonable satisfaction; yet the sweetness of his  
 disposition was such, that whatsoever I said was  
 well taken: I must say that I never met with any  
 disputant of that mild and calm temper, which  
 convinced me that such wisdom and moderation  
 could not be without an extraordinary measure of  
 the divine grace. I dare say if his advice had  
 been followed all the blood that is shed, and all  
 the rapine that is committed, should have been  
 prevented."

Interference  
 of the French  
 Court.

No sooner had Henderson retired from the  
 field of controversy, than Bellievre, the French  
 Ambassador, arrived with great promises of assist-  
 ance from the Court of France; but, what is very  
 extraordinary, declared "that nothing could be  
 done for him, unless he would give up the church,  
 extirpate Episcopacy, and give up all the lands  
 belonging to the Cathedral Churches." The



King was inflexible, and magnanimously rejected those offers of assistance which were to be purchased on such dishonorable terms. A more formidable antagonist appears in the person of the Queen, who, on the failure of Bellievre, dispatched Sir William Davenant to induce the King to comply with the views of the French Court, and the desires of his Parliament. But he treated her Ambassador with great sharpness, and he returned to France much dejected with his reception.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

We should wonder at this interference of the French Court, and their vehement desire for the overthrow of the church of England, did we not know, on the most irrefragable testimony, that this was the grand design of the Romanists during this calamitous period. Sir William Boswell in a letter to Archbishop Laud, from beyond sea, distinctly assures him "that the Romish clergy had gulled the misguided portion of the English nation; and that too, under a Puritanical dress;" and tells him "that the main-drift of their intention was to pull down the English Episcopacy." A statement which is abundantly confirmed by Archbishop Bramhall in a letter to Archbishop Usher, in which the venerable prelate assures him on his own knowledge, "that in the year 1646, by orders from Rome, more than a hundred of the Romish clergy were sent into England, most of whom went into the Parliamentary towns under the name of *Puritans*. Many of the Eng-

Designs of  
the French.



SECTION IV.   
 CHAP. II.   
 lish Romanists were at first surprised; but they soon came to a true understanding, and it was agreed that there was no better design to *confound the Church of England* than by pretending *liberty of conscience*." I shall afterwards adduce further evidence connected with this subject; but this is sufficient in this place to shew, that there was a deep-laid and organised plot for the destruction of the Anglican church, inasmuch as it was considered the great bulwark of Protestantism.

Parliament   
 bargains with   
 the Scots.

It was now evident that the King could not be moved, and the Scots prepared to make their bargain. It was agreed that £400,000 should be advanced to them, with a tacit condition that the King should be delivered to the Parliament. But the plot was not yet ripe. The Marquis of Argyle and the Chancellor Loudon offered their services and repaired to London, to treat with Parliament. They represented, that by the *oath of allegiance* they were bound to defend the person of the King from all harm—that an additional obligation was laid upon them by the "*solemn league and covenant*"—that *the law of nations* would not permit them to deliver up the meanest person that fled to them, much less would it permit them to deliver up the King; and that "an indelible character of disgrace and infamy must be for ever imprinted on them, if they yielded to it." But the Parliament knew the temper of the



men and resolved not to advance their money till they had obtained possession of the Royal person.

SECTION  
IV.

CHAP. II.

To assist in these deliberations, the Scotch Parliament was assembled, and the Duke of Hamilton again appears, in all the fullness of prosperity and glory; and, was sedulously courted by all parties. But he was the same man, and acted the part of a *Traitor* to the last. He was solicited by the Royalists, not to delay bringing the main subject respecting the security of the King's person before Parliament. In particular, the Lord Innepesser having sounded the Commissioners, earnestly besought the Duke not to admit of a moment's delay, assuring him, "it would now go for the King by thirty voices; but if protracted, such was the industry of the Argyleans and Kirk Commissioners, that they would draw away so many as to lose their cause." The Duke thanked him, but desired him "to leave the matter to him, who knew best to take the opportunity." A week after, the same Lord, perceiving a great change in the Commissioners, sent again to the Duke to inform him "that by reason of men's inconstancy, they could now only carry it by fifteen votes." His Grace returned the same answer; and, it was not till the fifteenth of December, after letters had been received from the London Commissioners, that he brought the subject before Parliament. The matter was formally debated and some delay occurred; but, on the

Hamilton's  
management.



SECTION sixteenth of January it was voted in these words,  
 IV. “That according to the agreement of the Lon-  
 CHAP. II. don Commissioners, the army should retire, and  
 the King be left to the English, without any  
 condition for him, or, our interest in him.”

The Duke of Hamilton and his brother voted against this proposition; but this speciousness did not save their reputation. All their known dependents and friends voted for the resolution, and a portion of the reward of iniquity, to the amount of £30,000, fell to their share.

The Earl of  
 Essex, discon-  
 tented—dies.

Whilst this prodigious wickedness was trans-acting, the Earl of Essex, overcome with chagrin and disappointment, retired from public life; and, in the silence of retirement, deeply lamented the part he had taken in promoting the miseries of his country. He brooded in secret over the calamities which he himself had been a principal agent in promoting; and, would fain have given his power and influence, to rescue his King and country from the evils in which he had assisted to involve them. But it was now too late. The Divine Being would not commit such a glorious enterprize to one, whose pride and vanity, more than any maliciousness of spirit, had induced him, against all reason and honor, to take up arms against his Sovereign. Whatever might have been his designs at this period, he was not permitted to put them into execution; but, worn out with anxiety and remorse, he sunk under the



pressure; and gradually declined, till the fourteenth of September, when he expired in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

The Scots had now received their reward, and the King was delivered up to the English Commissioners appointed to receive him—a transaction so dishonorable, that it became the subject of discourse and censure throughout Christendom; and has left an indelible stain of infamy upon all concerned in it. Nor was it left unpunished. The Scots retired with a reward, but it was charged with a deadly curse. From that time, all the prosperity which they had enjoyed, during the two last reigns, was blasted—a new scourge of blood and slaughter was preparing for them—the ruin of their Kirk and state was impending, and the whole of that generation lived to behold their country the most despicably conquered province on the face of the earth!

It was on the thirtieth of January, that the Scots having delivered up their captive Monarch, departed into their own country; whilst the English Commissioners, the chief of whom were the Earls of Pembroke and Denbigh, conducted their illustrious prisoner to Holmby Castle, in Northamptonshire. On his way he was attended with vast concourses of people, who implored his blessing, and attended him with acclamations and prayers for his safety and happiness. His behaviour during his confinement in this place,

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

Scotch Parliament give up the King

Saturday, the  
30th of January  
A. D. 1647,  
N. S.



SECTION affords a finished portrait of the King, Philosopher  
 IV. and Christian, illustrating in his daily practice  
 CHAP. II. the calmness of an enlightened devotion, and the  
 dignity of patient submission.

The army and the Pres- byterians. The whole power of the state was now wielded by the Presbyterians, who, relying on their own strength, rejected proposals which had been sent by the King, though, containing the most ample concessions. They even began to riot in the public plunder, and distributed largesses amongst their friends to the amount of £90,000. The sweets of power and self-gratification were irresistible; and they resolved to secure the means of both, by disbanding the army, a resolution which was more easily made than put into execution. But their reign was short; the Independents had already made great advances; and Cromwell had made such preparations as entirely defeated their intentions. He himself and the principal officers of the army, with hypocritical zeal, broke in upon the sacred functions of the Ministry; and undertook the office, of preaching and praying amongst the troops. The soldiers were soon inflamed by the same unlawful fire, and preached not only to their comrades in arms, but in the pulpits of the churches, to the deluded people. All the mounds of propriety and reason, and of Ecclesiastical decorum, which had hitherto restrained the tide of religious licentiousness, were broken down. Women, seized with the fanatical spirit essayed



to become declaimers and prophets. Confusion like that of Babel, everywhere prevailed. No one must be called to account for his religious opinions, however profane, heretical, and blasphemous. In their profane jargon, to forbid these wild exercises, was—"to restrain the spirit."

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

The Presbyterians, however, attempted and made vigorous efforts to put down the multitude of sects, which daily increased, and like a swarm of locusts, invaded the land. But in vain they attempted to allay the spirit which they themselves had raised. The very attempt turned to their own confusion and ruin. The leaders of the Independents termed it persecution and tyranny; and, on this pretext, Cromwell proceeded to establish a military Parliament, in order to secure the liberties of the people. The upper House consisted of a certain number of officers, and the lower House of three or four soldiers from every regiment. The authority by which they sat was founded on the power of the sword; and was, almost, if not altogether, as legitimate as that of the Parliament at Westminster, which was founded in usurpation. The military Parliament sent repeated messages and declarations to the civil legislature, complaining of their persecution of the *godly*—a persecution they asserted, worse than that of the Bishops—demanding liberty of conscience, refusing to disband till the just rights and liberties of the subject were recognized; and

A military  
Parliament  
established



SECTION declaring, that the design of disbanding the army,

IV.

CHAP. II.



“was a plot contrived by some men who had lately tasted of Sovereignty, who being elevated above servants, endeavoured to become masters, and were degenerated into tyrants.” What a righteous retribution, that the Presbyterians should be assailed with their own weapons, and dragged from their bad pre-eminence by the very instruments they had created, and by whose means they had gained their bloody and dear-bought triumph!

Presbyterians  
struggle in vain.

It must be owned, however, that the Presbyterians did not tamely submit to the dictation of the army; but struggled hard to maintain the power, which they had acquired with so much difficulty and danger. The House talked high; and came to bold resolutions, which the murmurs of the army obliged them to rescind. They condescended even to bribe by the advance of a month's pay. But all in vain. The army became more tumultuous, and, like an unrestrained tide, made daily encroachments on their authority.

Cromwell  
outwits them.

All this time, Cromwell was playing his part with the most consummate art. He attended the House, exclaimed vehemently against these irregularities; lamented, with tears, the insolence of the Army, and represented his own life as in danger from their mutinous conduct. But it was impossible, entirely, to conceal his sinister intentions; and the leaders of the House, determined to secure him, as the author of all their distractions.



Their design was kept a profound secret; but such was his command of information, that he became fully acquainted with it, and next morning, at an early hour quietly left the City, attended only by one domestic, and joined the Army.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

Nor was he long inactive. He had trained the army to his purposes, and by the force of a superior genius, which rendered him perfectly master of all the arts of dissimulation and intrigue, had gained an ascendant over the mind of the general himself. Accordingly, without the concurrence of the Commander-in-Chief, a plot of the most decisive and desperate character was adopted and put into execution. Cornet Joyce, a man of a rude and insolent character, was dispatched to Holmby Castle, with a select body of horse, to seize the King's person, and convey him to the army. At midnight, on the eleventh of June, he suddenly drew up his horse before the Castle and demanded entrance. The officers of the guard would have resisted his summons, as he could show no authority: but the common Soldiers would not stand to their arms, and opened the gates to their comrades. Joyce, having stationed a guard at the doors of the Commissioners, hastened to the King's chamber, and, with a pistol cocked in his hand, boldly knocked at the door. The King's attendants amazed at his audacious conduct, desired him to lay aside his arms and to retire till morning. But all their solicitations were in vain: the

Seizes the  
King's person.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.



The King  
and Cornet  
Joyce.

blustering Cornet, with still greater clamour, demanded to see the King, who being awoke by the altercation, sent him a mild message, to say, that “he should not rise to see him till morning,” upon which, very much against his inclination, he retired.

The King rose early in the morning, and, after his usual devotions, sent for Joyce, who entered the apartment with great bluntness, and told his Majesty *that he had orders to convey him to the army.* The King demanded *by whose appointment?* But this was a question which the well-instructed Cornet had no intention of answering; and remaining silent, the King asked him for a sight of his instructions. This strain of examination might have daunted a man less qualified than Joyce for the part he had to act; but to this last interrogatory, he adroitly answered “You shall see them presently,” and drawing up his troops in the inner court of the Castle, he said to the King “Sir, these are my instructions.” The King taking a view of them, and perceiving them to be fine men, and well mounted and armed, smilingly, told the Cornet:—“Your instructions are in fair characters, legible without spelling;” but added “that he should not stir, unless the Commissioners went along with him,” to which Joyce assented, “saying it was a matter quite indifferent to him.”

The King attended by the Commissioners under the guidance of the self-complacent Cornet, proceeded as far as Hitchingbrook, where they were



met by Colonel Waller with two regiments, who had orders from the General to conduct the King back to Holmby Castle. But his Majesty peremptorily refused to return; and proceeded under his new escort, to the head quarters of the army.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

The news of this surprising action, spread with the rapidity of lightning, and filled the minds of all men with astonishment. But the Presbyterian leaders in Parliament were principally concerned. It gave a sudden turn to their consultations, and changed the whole aspect of affairs; whilst their anxiety was still further increased by the advance of the army towards the metropolis.

Presbyterians

confounded.

In this emergency it was resolved that the House should assemble for business, next day, which was Sunday; and, that their Chaplain, Mr. Marshall should pray—"That God would be pleased to give them one heart and one mind, in carrying on the great work of the Lord"—a sentiment which many have not scrupled to condemn as a species of hypocrisy. But whilst this may be true of the political leaders, it is too severe a charge, and, without foundation, when applied to the Presbyterian Divines of that period. Their conduct must be accounted for on other principles. Many of them were eminent men; but with all their learning, theological knowledge and acquaintance with scripture, they were under a violent impression in favour of a peculiar system, which they judged to be *exclusively* consistent



SECTION with truth ; and there exists the strongest proof

IV.

CHAP. II.

that they were under the delusion of their own spirit. The means which they employed to execute their designs—the deceit and cruelty which they patronized—the reasonable concessions for peace, which they rejected, and the total absence of candour which they manifested, sufficiently shew that they were not actuated by the spirit of christianity. This may be considered a harsh judgment ; but it would be weakness to hesitate in delivering it, when a divine canon is at hand to support and confirm it : “ If any man saith : I know Him, and keepeth not his commandments he is a liar, and the truth is not in him.” Christianity does not consist in a mere formal profession of discipleship, nor in a speculative acquaintance with its sublime mysteries, nor, in a laborious inculcation of its doctrines, but, *in doing the will of Christ* ; and, in following his example in meekness and lowliness of mind, in moderation and charity.

Their Coun-  
sels of no avail.

The result of their Sunday deliberations and the prayers of Mr. Marshall, was a letter to the General, not to allow any part of the army to advance within twenty-five miles of London, with a *douceur* of £10,000. The General with his usual submission, complied with their request, but demanded a month's pay for the soldiers ; which they immediately granted. But these concessions increased the malady they were intended to



remedy. The Parliament were assailed with their own weapons. Petitions suborned by the Independents, poured in from all quarters, and tumultuous mobs were assembled to overawe their deliberations. But the Presbyterians were still strong, and passed several resolutions, the object of which was, to induce the King to declare himself a prisoner, in order that they might insist upon his enlargement. But these paper resolutions of the House made little impression on shields and bucklers; and the army presented to the House a most wholesome, but most obnoxious address, shewing the absolute necessity of a sovereign Prince, to controul the movements of an overgrown and irresponsible Assembly.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

The commons considered it a mighty presumption to be thus checked in their career, and determined, at one bold stroke, to try the temper of the army. They accordingly voted, "That the army retire forty miles from London." But instead of meeting with obedience to their order, another chastisement awaited them, in which a retributory judgment was manifest. Their own conduct in the case of the Earl of Strafford, and Archbishop Laud, was pleaded as precedents; and in a council of General Officers, impeachments were drawn up against eleven of the Presbyterian leaders. This was extremely shocking to the Commons, and highly resented by them; but to no purpose. The military council insisted on

Presbyterians  
severely check-  
ed.



SECTION their own example as sufficient precedent; and, eventually, the impeached members, to avoid the fate which threatened them, retired beyond sea. Sir Philip Stapleton, who was deeply involved in the guilt of all these transactions, was one of them, and being seized with the plague on his passage, he died in a ditch, near Calais. This was a severe blow to the Presbyterians, from which they never recovered.

IV.

CHAP. II.

Breach be-  
tween the army  
and Parlia-  
ment.

The breach between the Parliament and the army every day, grew wider. One day, resolutions were passed in compliance with the demands of the army, and on the next, they were rescinded. Seditions and tumults filled the city with alarm. Indescribable confusion prevailed, and it was evident that an inevitable crisis was approaching. One morning, whilst the House was waiting for their Speaker to commence business, they were informed to their astonishment, that he had retired from the city, accompanied with Sir H. Vane, and other members of the Commons, and the Earls of Manchester and Northumberland, and eight other of the Lords. The rendezvous of the army was at Hounslow Heath, where the absconding senators appeared, and were received with great formality and respect, by the general officers. They represented to the General, in terms of affected grief and indignation, that they had not freedom at Westminster; but were in danger of their lives by the tumults of the People, and appealed to



the army for protection. This was sufficient. SECTION  
 The army, immediately, advanced to London to IV.  
 reinstate the members in their places, and protect CAP. II.  
 the freedom of Parliament! Resistance was vain.  
 The army marched through the city, in triumph,  
 with laurels in their caps, and the Speaker, with  
 all due formality, was restored to his place.

Whatever of power or authority remained to  
 the Presbyterians was now extinguished; and the Overthrow of  
 that great party which had been so long in the the Presby-  
 ascendant—which, after the redress of all real terians.  
 grievances, had embroiled both England and Scot-  
 land in a bloody and destructive war—which had  
 been victorious in the senate and in the field,—  
 which had entirely overthrown both the civil and  
 ecclesiastical establishments of their country, and,  
 which had enriched itself, beyond example, with  
 the immense spoils of Church and State—was  
 now, after all their triumphs, and, at the moment  
 of their greatest confidence, scattered like dust  
 before the wind. They were not even permitted  
 to see their Presbytery established, nor one lay  
 elder constituted in any one parish of the king-  
 dom; but were turned out of all they possessed,  
 and exposed to public scorn and contempt. And  
 what is most remarkable, and discovers the over-  
 ruling hand of Heaven in their overthrow—their  
 exorbitant power, which they had purchased with  
 so many millions of treasure, and such oceans of  
 blood, was demolished without a blow.



SECTION A new scene opens. The magnanimous King, during this period of angry contention, had followed the movements of the army, and was, at length, settled at Whitehall, his ancient palace, which he had not seen since the commencement of the war. The Lieutenant-General of the army had a new part to act; and the Monarch, for the present, was treated with great indulgence and respect, and he was permitted to see his friends, and especially his children, who frequently visited him under the care of their tutor, the Earl of Northumberland. During these interviews, his most implacable enemies were struck with admiration, at the dignified tenderness of the father, and the dutiful submission of the children. On these occasions, he gave to each of them the most solemn advice, suited to their age and condition, the whole of which is eminently worthy of transcription, but my limits will not permit that gratification.

with Cromwell  
and Ireton.

At this juncture, also, Sir John Berkley and Mr. Ashburnham, came over from France, to assist the King with their counsels; and it was, through these gentlemen, that he carried on a negotiation with Cromwell and Ireton, who entirely governed the army. Nothing could exceed their protestations of affection towards the King's person, and of their determination to support his cause. Ireton, in the presence of Major Huntingdon, swore in the most solemn manner, that he



would adventure his life and fortune for the King." Cromwell made a similar declaration, and added, "that no man had ever been so abused; and that he thought him the uprightest and most conscientious man in his three kingdoms," and concluded by saying, "that God would be pleased to look upon him according to the sincerity of his heart, towards his Majesty!"

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

Notwithstanding these professions, the proposals which were made to the King, during this secret negotiation, although they were more moderate than those submitted to him on former occasions by the Parliament, yet they were rejected by the King with some sharpness, as destructive of the Monarchy and constitutional liberties of England. Cromwell still continued his attentions upon the King, and, whatever was his design in carrying on the negotiation, it is certain he had already made up his mind as to the course he should take. Difficulties almost insuperable were in his way: but his inventive and subtle genius did not despair of overcoming them. Many of the general officers were sincere in their affection and attachment to the King's person; and *Barron* in his defence, tells us, that when Cromwell, one day, in the presence of one of them, holding the King's hand between his own, bathed it plentifully with tears, whilst he made the most solemn promises of attachment, when he came out, he asked the officer, *whether he had not acted his*

Their treach-  
ery.



SECTION *part well?* “Were you not then in earnest?”

IV. replied the officer. “Not in the least” he re-

CHAP. II.

plied—an example of effrontery and hypocrisy, almost unparalleled in history.

Protestations  
of Cromwell  
and Ireton.

At length the Parliament finished their proposals for peace, which were presented to the King, and were in substance the same as had been rejected by him at Newcastle. Before, however, he would return a decisive answer, he sent for Major Huntingdon, a brave officer of Cromwell's own regiment, but sincerely devoted to the King's interests, and desired to be resolved by him in one thing—“whether Cromwell was the same in his heart to him, as he had by his tongue so frequently expressed himself.” The Major was staggered; and fearing to mislead the King, asked a short delay, and posting off, arrived at Putney by night; and having roused the Lieutenant General from his bed, received from him the most solemn assurances of his sincerity, and his determination to restore the king to his just rights and dignity. Ireton joined in the same asseverations, and added “they would purge the House of Commons again and again, till they had brought it to such a temper as should do the King's business.”

The King re-  
jects the propo-  
sals of Parlia-  
ment.

On this assurance the King founded his answer to the Parliament; and sent it to Cromwell and Ireton to be perused, with a permission to make such alterations as they thought necessary. Thus

A. D. 1647.



amended, it was sent to the Houses at Westminster, where it was read. The substance of it was :  
 “ that he could not agree to all their propositions ;  
 but earnestly requested a personal treaty as the only means of securing a solid and lasting peace.”  
 “ Behold ! ” says Major Huntingdon, “ the horrid perfidiousness of those two great impostors.” No sooner was the answer of the King read to the House, than Cromwell and Ireton were the first to express their dissatisfaction ; and were even violent in their invectives against it. Overcome by their persuasions, the House voted the most candid and reasonable answer in the world—a “ *flat denial*.” The King immediately despatched the Major to demand an explanation. Cromwell replied “ that he had done it, to sound the virulent humours of the Presbyterians, whom he knew to be no friends to his Majesty.” But his real motive was to prevent a “ personal treaty,” which might have given a death blow to his designs. If proof be needed, it will be found in the fact, that he never afterwards visited the King!

Indeed, he had now gained his point by breaking off the King’s negotiation with Parliament ; and a new scene in the political tragedy, instantly opens. The officers of the army rarely visited Hampton Court. The guards became rude and even insolent. A mutinous spirit was created in the army, and a new sort of agitators arose, called Levellers. Their discourse was directed against

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

Their villany  
triumphs.



SECTION IV. the King's person: they declared that God had  
 CHAP. II. blasphemed his heart to reject their proposals, and  
 blasphemously asserted that the Lord had "led  
 captivity captive;" and "put all things under  
 their feet."

Other actors  
 appear.

In the beginning of November, things were so prepared that in a council of officers, Cromwell and Colonel Harrison ventured to broach their further designs; and the latter, made a long harangue concerning some things "that lay upon his spirit, relating to the King, Lords, and Commons:" declaring "that the King was a man of blood, and, therefore, their engagements with him, were taken off, and that he ought to be PROSECUTED." And on the same day, the agitators of nine regiments, and the General's life-guards, drew up an address, in the same strain, to the soldiers of the army.

Whilst this plot was ripening in the army, the Presbyterians made a grand effort to possess themselves of the King's person. The Scotch Commissioners, Loudon, Lanerick, and Lauderdale, endeavoured to enter into a treaty with him for this purpose: and, one day, when the King was hunting at Nonsuch, the two latter noblemen repaired to that place with fifty horse, in order to cover his escape. But the King refused to accept their services, on the ground that, "he had engaged his honor not to leave the army, without giving them notice."



But Cromwell who had now done with the King, was anxious to remove him to a greater distance from the scene of action, in order, with greater facility, to prepare the way for his ulterior designs. To effect his purpose, he conveyed to the King a positive assurance that his life was in danger, and, that he could no longer protect him. On receiving this information, the unhappy King resolved to fly from the scene of danger. He now consulted the Scotch Commissioners, and proposed to retire to Scotland; but they would give him no encouragement, unless he would comply with their design respecting religion. Distracted with the difficulties of his situation, and terrified by new apprehensions he became, at length, more solicitous to make his escape, than to determine upon the place of his retreat. Accordingly, on Thursday night, the eighteenth of November, between the hours of eight and nine in the evening, he left his lodgings, in disguise, having passed through a private door into the park, crossed the river to Thames Ditton, where Sir John Berkley and Mr. Ashburnham waited for him with horses. They rode South West, towards the new forest, and reached Sutton by break of day. The King asked Mr. Ashburnham, who seemed to have the sole direction of their journey, *where the ship lay?* The King appeared greatly disappointed at his answer, and proposed that they should, for the present, take shelter at Tichfield,

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

The King's  
flight.



SECTION the seat of the Earl of Southampton. Here they  
 IV. were hospitably entertained by the Earl's mother,  
 CHAP. II. a lady of great honor and fidelity. They had in  
 this retreat, leisure to consider their situation, and  
 take measures for their future safety. But if the  
 King was not betrayed by his attendants, the  
 whole of this flight is the most surprising action  
 that can be conceived. Every step was taken  
 with such fatal precision, that if Cromwell him-  
 self had been in the person of Mr. Ashburnham,  
 he could not have conducted the enterprise to a  
 result more agreeable to his wishes, or, more in  
 harmony with his purposes!

Fatal decision. Whilst the King and his attendants were con-  
 sulting as to the course they should pursue, the  
 Isle of Wight was mentioned, by Mr. Ashburn-  
 ham, as a place of the greatest security. Colonel  
 Hammond, a near relative of Doctor Hammond,  
 was Governor, and a man who enjoyed the fullest  
 confidence of the Lieutenant General Cromwell.  
 Notwithstanding, it was agreed that Berkley and  
 Ashburnham should repair to this man—obtain  
 from him his word of honor, that he would not  
 deliver up the person of the King to the Parlia-  
 ment: and if he could not withstand their solici-  
 tations, to afford him liberty to escape. Charged  
 with this commission, they crossed to the Isle of  
 Wight and delivered the King's message to the  
 Governor, to which he returned an evasive answer.  
 But being pressed for something more decisive,



he, at last, declared "that he did believe his Majesty did rely upon him as a person of honor and honesty, therefore he did engage to perform whatsoever should be expected from a person of honor and honesty." With this very equivocal answer, Mr. Ashburnham was satisfied, and consented, contrary to his directions to convey him to the King. On their arrival, Mr. Ashburnham went to the King's apartment, and when he acquainted him with all that had passed, the King perceiving the fatal mistake, exclaimed "What! have you brought Hammond with you? O, Jack, you have undone me." Upon which, his faithless messenger, falling into a bitter passion of tears, offered to go down and kill Hammond. But, of course, the King would not consent to such a proposition but said "it was now too late to think of any thing but going through the way, into which he had forced him, and, leave the issue with God." Accordingly, he received Colonel Hammond with great cheerfulness, and accompanied him to the Isle of Wight, where he was lodged in Carisbrook Castle.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

The unexpected flight of the King made a great impression on the minds of all men. The Presbyterians thought he was concealed in the city, waiting for a favorable opportunity to discover himself. The Cavaliers hoped that he had escaped beyond sea—a circumstance which filled the army with apprehensions. But Cromwell

Various conjectures afloat.



SECTION silenced all their hopes and fears, when, within  
 IV. two days, and with unusual gaiety of manner, he  
 CHAP. II. informed the House of his retreat, and assured  
 them: "that Colonel Hammond was so honest a  
 man, and so devoted to their service, that they  
 need not fear his being corrupted by any man  
 living."

Cromwell By this time, Cromwell had reduced Parlia-  
 quells the Agi- ment to a temper entirely suited to his designs.  
 tators. But he had now another difficulty of no little  
 magnitude to encounter. The military House of  
 Commons, or, Agitators, had so well transcribed  
 the copy which had been set them by their  
 superiors, that they began to act independently of  
 the Council of General Officers; and presented  
 addresses to Parliament, demanding the abolition  
 of all titles, and reducing all men to the same rank  
 and condition, with other extravagant notions,  
 subversive not only of all Government, but of  
 society itself. The Levellers had already proceeded  
 to great lengths; and had persuaded great bodies  
 of the soldiery to enter into engagements, to  
 render themselves absolute, and shake off the  
 authority of their commanders. But this licen-  
 tiousness was not to be borne; and the genius of  
 Cromwell which had triumphed over the pride  
 and glory of chivalry—beat down the obstinacy  
 of Presbyterianism and defeated the plans of the  
 wisest Politicians, was not to be intimidated by  
 the insolence of these low-bred and fanatical



Levellers. Having ascertained by means of spies, the time and place of their rendezvous, he came upon them, suddenly, with an ordinary guard, and, having put certain questions to the leading Agitators, which drew from them insolent answers, he levelled them on the ground with his own hand, and then ordering his men to charge, he secured as many as he thought proper; and having ordered some to be immediately executed, he sent the others to London to await a more formal trial.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

Having surmounted this difficulty, he advanced in his extraordinary career, to the perpetration of his enormous designs. A meeting of the general officers of the army was appointed, at Windsor, to take into consideration what should now be done with the King. This grand conference, as was usual on such occasions, began by prayers performed by Cromwell, Ireton, or, some other "inspired" officer, and the result of their consultation was: "THAT THE KING SHOULD BE PROSECUTED FOR HIS LIFE, AS A CRIMINAL PERSON;" a resolution, which was to be kept a profound secret, and to the accomplishment of which, the Parliament was to be brought, gradually, and by slow degrees.

Plots the  
King's death.

Every thing now tended to this end. Four bills entirely subversive of the constitution, were prepared by Parliament, and submitted to the King for his assent. His answer was couched in the mildest terms, and contained concessions as ample



SECTION as were consistent with his honor, and his fidelity  
 IV. to the nation. His overtures were rejected with  
 CHAP. II. contempt; and he was assailed with reproaches  
 and execrations. The whole Independent and  
 Republican party, were inflamed to madness, by  
 the vehemence of their leaders. Cromwell now  
 openly declared in Parliament "that the King  
 was a man of great parts and great understanding,  
 but withal, so great a dissembler and so false a  
 man, that he was not to be trusted." He alleged  
 many particulars against him and concluded, that  
 they should now "proceed to the settlement of  
 the kingdom, without having further recourse to  
 him." Ireton was still more pointed and affirmed,  
 that by his rejection of the bills "the people no  
 longer owed him any subjection." And a mem-  
 ber of the name of *Wroth* proposed to have him  
 kept in some inland garrison, till he could be  
 brought to judgment, observing "It was equal  
 to him what kind of Government they settled, so  
 that they admitted neither Kings nor devils."

A resolution of "non-ad-  
 dresses." Such was the violent language with which the  
 life and person of the King was now openly  
 assailed; and, in accordance with these senti-  
 ments the House immediately proceeded to resolve  
*"That they would make no more addresses to the  
 King, but proceed at once, to provide for the peace  
 and safety of the kingdom."* This ordinance of the  
 House was attended with a long and virulent  
 declaration, inveighing, in the most libellous man-



ner, against all the acts of the King's administration; so that Hollis himself, observes, respecting many of the charges contained in it, that they were "absurd and incredible."

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

But the libellers were to receive a severe and sudden check, which was intended by its re-action to bring a severe chastisement upon some of the principal actors in these scenes; and, particularly, the Duke of Hamilton.

This odious declaration, and these open assaults against the Sovereign power, filled the minds of all honest men with disgust and indignation, and produced an instantaneous and universal feeling in favor of their injured Monarch. In the House of Commons, all those whose minds were not wholly prostituted to the designs of Cromwell, deserted the House. Murmuring and discontent filled the public mind, and the people discovered their resentment in every possible way. Pamphlets were published couched in the most bitter and insulting language: "the new Testament of our Lords and Saviours, the House of Commons sitting at Westminster." Mortified and stung with these cutting and bitter reproaches, the House made searching inquiries after their authors, but in vain. The national ferment was increased by the imposition of new taxes, and the overbearing insolence of men in office. Men of all ranks who had any regard for their honor or reputation, now retired from all official connexion with the

The whole  
nation filled  
with disgust,



SECTION state. The Government forthwith degenerated

IV. Men of the lowest condition, and persons of mean

CHAP. II.

and contracted minds succeeded to their places.

And roused  
to indignation. Men whose education and property entitled them to nothing beyond the rank of a common constable, became Justices of the peace, Commissioners, and Sequestrators—obedience to such rulers became a vile and degrading servitude, which could not be endured. The nation roused itself from its lethargy, and seemed determined to avenge their Sovereign and their outraged liberties, by force of arms. A fearful and wide-spread insurrection took place in London; the counties of Kent and Essex, were foremost in manifesting their determination. Wales was immediately in arms. The flame spread with amazing rapidity: and the brave Sir Marmaduke Langdale, in the north, was soon at the head of a powerful body of men. And now, the tide had been turned, and, the rebellious Parliament and Cromwell, and all his fanatical satellites had been swept away by the resistless fury of the storm, had not the Almighty Ruler determined, that rebellion should work out its course, and bring down condign punishment on the heads of its first projectors.

Second civil  
war.  
A. D. 1648. The seamen stung with remorse, and detesting the tyranny of their new masters declared for the King, and twenty ships hastened to receive on board the Prince of Wales, as Admiral, whilst the Scots, willing to make another effort in favor



of their great idol, raised a powerful army, at the head of which, the unfortunate Duke of Hamilton, perceiving the gulf of misery, into which he had betrayed his innocent master prepared to invade England. The Earl of Holland also, touched with a sense of his former injuries, with the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Peterborough, appeared near Kingston, with a body of five hundred horse and some infantry, for his Majesty's service. The preparations for an arduous struggle were truly formidable. But the instruments of the Divine vengeance were at hand, and before the Royalists could form themselves into one grand army, Fairfax and Cromwell were in the field. The former undertook the reduction of Kent; and Cromwell having led his forces into Wales subdued, and, like an hungry lion, turned round in quest of his foes. Nor was he long in finding them. One body of the Scots who had entered England in greater numbers, and with more hostile feelings, than on any former occasion, had advanced as far as Warrington; and, after some sharp encounters, Major General Bagley delivered up himself and four thousand men to the mercy of the Conqueror; whilst the Duke of Hamilton, at the head of the main body was defeated almost without a blow, and surrendered himself prisoner to Colonel Lambert. Cromwell pursued his victorious career, and entered the Scottish capital in triumph. He was received by

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

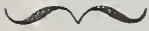
The Scots receive deserved chastisement.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.



the inveterate Earl of Argyle, as a brother confederate; and having joined their forces, all opposition was quelled. A Parliament was called, and the late invasion of England, was determined to be an unjust and treasonable expedition. Solemn fasts were enjoined by the Assembly, to implore God's pardon for their "heinous wickedness;" the Chancellor Loudon, one of its projectors, setting the example, by making a public recantation, with many tears. Cromwell was magnificently entertained by the chief nobility of the kingdom, and addressed and complimented by the Kirk, as "*their deliverer.*" Having finished all things in Scotland, and effectually tied the hands of that nation, so as scarcely to leave them power to hold them up, in astonishment at the horrid tragedy he was contemplating, he returned to London; whilst Fairfax, having concluded the war by the siege and capture of Colchester, where a bloody sacrifice was offered to the revolutionary moloch, fixed his head quarters at Saint Albans.

The King's  
conduct.

All this time, the patient Monarch was leading a calm and contemplative life in the Isle of Wight. Mr. Herbert, who attended upon him, has given a particular account of his studies and course of life. The sacred scriptures, was the book in which he most delighted; but he read considerably in other authors. Amongst them, Andrew's Sermons, Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, Doctor Hammond's works, Villalpandus on Ezekiel, Her-



bert's Divine Poems engaged his attention, and he would frequently read the Italian heroic poems of Tasso and Ariosto, and Spencer's Fairy Queen. Nor did he confine himself to reading. He finished his celebrated work before-mentioned—translated Sanderson's work "*De Jura mentis*," composed several short English poems, and penned Latin distichs in his books, which he frequently inscribed with his favourite motto: "*Dum spiro, spero*." But, however pleasing it would be to dwell upon these subjects, I must not enlarge.

SECTION

IV.  
CHAP. II.

The confinement of the King had been rendered less irksome on the breaking out of the civil war, through the selfishness of the Presbyterian party, who, on the removal of the army, in defiance of their resolution of "*non-addresses*," entered into a negotiation with him, and sent Commissioners for that purpose to Newport. During this arduous negotiation, he was indefatigable and persevering; discovered great penetration of mind, and solidity of judgment; and, single-handed against fifteen persons, expressed himself with great volubility and readiness on all subjects; and shewed himself equally conversant with Divinity, Law, and Political economy. The Commissioners were surprised, no less with the depth and solidity of his parts, than with the extent of his acquirements, insomuch that one day, when the King was rising up from the debate, the Earl of Salisbury, suddenly said to Mr. Warwick: "The

Treaty of  
Newport.  
A. D. 1648.



SECTION IV. King is wonderfully improved." To which the other smartly replied: "no, my Lord, he was always such; but you have discovered it too late." Nor was his patience, which was equally well exercised, less than his ability. Let one example suffice. On the subject of Ecclesiastical Government, the Commissioners brought in their *Divines* to argue with him. On one occasion, whilst two of them, Jenkins and Sparston, with a rudeness only paralleled by their ignorance, they told him "that if he would not abolish Episcopacy he would be damned."

It would be tedious and unnecessary, to enter into a detail of the circumstances attending this treaty. All his concessions were of no avail. Everything was sacrificed to the selfish or vindictive passions of men; and, the catastrophe of the reign hastened to its consummation.

Designs of the army. Cromwell and Ireton were now supreme, and through their instructions, a remonstrance was framed by the army, and presented to Parliament, demanding that the King should be brought to immediate justice—a motion that was supported in a violent speech by Sir H. Vane. But there were yet some who could not, at once, be forced into such extreme and fatal measures. But there was no time for delay. Whilst the debate was in progress, the House was once more surprised at the news of the King's removal from the Isle of Wight, under a strong military escort to Hurst Castle.\*

\* What was then called a Block-house, in the Sea, not far from the Isle of Wight.



The House was highly indignant at this intelligence, and *resolved*, that the King should be sent back to Carisbrook Castle, which they conveyed by letter to the General. But without noticing their “resolution” he returned an answer, in which he demanded the arrears of pay, threatening in case of non-compliance to march the army towards London. This increased the flame, and some of the more impetuous moved, “that the army might be declared traitors, if they approached any nearer to London; and that an impeachment of high treason might be drawn up against the principal officers.” But alas! these were but the dying struggles of an imperious faction, which in the hour of their despair, even carried a resolution by a majority of thirty-six votes, to the effect: “*that the King’s concessions afforded sufficient grounds for the House to proceed in their treaty for the peace and settlement of the kingdom.*” But it was their last effort. For, the very next morning, several regiments of foot appeared at Westminster, and placing guards at all the approaches to the Houses of Parliament, they seized upon forty-one of the most obnoxious members—treated them with great indignity, and committed them to close imprisonment. These were the leading men in promoting all the opposition against the King; and, amongst others, was Sir John Clotworthy, the unworthy reviler of the Earl of Strafford in his last moments, on the scaffold. Besides

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

Resented by  
Parliament.



SECTION these, a hundred and fifty were excluded from the  
 IV. House either by fear or constraint; and the whole  
 CHAP. II. of the old Puritan Presbyterian faction was entirely  
 broken and dispersed.

Design for  
 the King's  
 escape.

The House was now purged to its lowest dregs, and thoroughly prepared to sanction the horrid designs of the Regicides. The King was now removed from Hurst Castle to Windsor; but, on his way, a plan was arranged for his escape, which, however, did not succeed. His Majesty contrived to induce Colonel Harrison, who had the charge of his guard, to dine at Bagshot Lodge, the seat of Lord Newburgh, lately married to the Lady Aubigny, both persons of inviolable loyalty. They had undertaken to secure his flight, and for that purpose had procured, as it is said, the fleetest horse in England: but the fate of the Monarch was not to be averted, nor the admonitory lesson lost to mankind, of the fearful effects of arbitrary power, when broken in upon by the unrestrained violence of popular licentiousness. The noble animal on which the King was to have made his escape, was lamed on that very day by the stroke of another horse, and to the indescribable grief and concern of his friends, the project entirely failed.

The Com-  
 mons proclaim  
 a fast.

The great imposters at Westminster, now proclaimed a fast, the usual preliminary to acts of extraordinary wickedness; and four of the members of the House of Lords were found sufficiently



degraded to unite with the Commons in the acting of this solemn farce. The impiety was transacted in St. Margaret's church, where, that deluded man, Hugh Peters, acted the part of buffoon in this profane and ignoble scene. His text was taken from the Psalms, "To bind their Kings in chains and their rulers with links of iron: Such honor have all his saints." He compared the state of the kingdom, to the deliverance of the children of Israel from Egyptian bondage. He next expatiated on the best method of delivering England; and, stooping down, hid his face in the cushion of the pulpit; from whence, suddenly, lifting it up, he told his audience "*that he had a revelation how to effect it, which was by extirpating Monarchy!*" He compared the King to Barabbas, whom the foolish citizens would have released; and the "red coats" to our Saviour, whom they would have crucified; and after declaring, that he had "upon an exact scrutiny, ascertained that there were five thousand saints in the army, as holy as any that convened with God in heaven." He concluded by conjuring them, in the name of the people of England, to execute "justice on the Barabbas at Windsor, and not permit Benhadad to escape in safety." Such was the profanation to which the pulpit was subjected at that unhappy period. This monstrous evil was so apparent, that a member in his speech said "that there was no way of ending the divi-

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

Their wick-  
edness and  
hypocrisy.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.



sions, in England, but by forbidding all preaching for one whole year:" and it was remarkably said by Sir Robert Spotiswood, son of the Archbishop, at his execution in Scotland, "none of the judgments of God are greater: no, not plague, or famine, or sword—than when he suffers a lying spirit to fill the mouths of the prophets."

The King's  
death deter-  
mined upon.

The direful delusion produced its legitimate effects. Immediately after the fast, it was moved in the House "that they should proceed capitally against the King;" and Cromwell, in whom the "lying spirit" most of all resided, said, "that if any man had moved this by design, he should have deemed him the greatest traitor in the world; but since Providence and necessity had cast them upon it, he should pray God to bless their councils, though he was not prepared, in the sudden, to give them counsel." But, soon afterwards, with a profaneness equal to Hugh Peters himself, he declared: "that as he was praying for a blessing from God on his undertaking, to restore his Majesty to his pristine dignity, his tongue cleaved to the roof of his mouth that he could not speak one word more, which he took as a return of prayer, and that God had rejected him from being King." And to complete the moral deformity of this extraordinary man, he openly avowed: "that it was lawful to circumvent a wicked man with deceit and fraud."



The way was now fully prepared for the enactment of the last scene, in which, strange forms are about to appear, insulting with maddening rage, around the regicidal tribunal. It began with a charge prepared by a committee of the House of Commons, which they called: "An impeachment of high treason, against Charles Stuart, King of England." And which, was immediately sent up to the Lords for their concurrence. But the Lords—the ignoble Lords—who had prostituted every principle of their order, and of the constitution, now saw, as all such recreants from the course of integrity and honor, must sooner or later discover, that they had overacted their part, and sold themselves into the hands of those "who shed innocent blood." They rejected the impeachment with some warmth and adjourned for three days, fondly imagining that, by this means, they should stem the sanguinary torrent. But their opposition was wholly impotent, and they were now justly made the laughing-stock, as they had long been the dupes, of the Commons: on their return they found the doors of their House shut against them, and secured with padlocks, and were thus dismissed from their attendance on Parliament, without even the formality of a vote!

The regicides, fully determined on their fatal course, were yet at a loss upon what theatre the bloody scene should be perpetrated. But the genius of evil is prolific of invention. Nothing

SECTION

VI.

CHAP. II.

The Peers  
excluded from  
their House.



SECTION IV.  
CAP. II.

could be found either in common or statute law, (by way of precedent,) to warrant legal proceedings against the Sovereign Power. A new form was therefore to be created, which they termed, in derision of all things divine and human, “The High Court of Justice.” One hundred and thirty-five members of the House were nominated as Judges, twenty of whom might act; but such a number could not be found. A fiction, therefore, was invented, and it was resolved, that other “GODLY PERSONS,” who were out of Parliament, should be associated with them, in order, as they asserted, that their impartiality should not be called in question! Such a high-minded resolution, and such an extreme desire for justice, was quickly responded to, and the number was filled up from the officers of the army and the citizens of London. And after all, fifty of their nominees refused to act; and of the whole kingdom, sixty-eight only could be found, and those of the *Independent faction*, to sit in judgment on the life of their Sovereign. Mr. John Bradshaw, a lawyer, of Lincoln’s Inn—a man not without abilities, but of an insolent carriage, and influenced by the force of a low and selfish ambition—was nominated *President*. No man could have been chosen better adapted to the duties of the office, which he discharged with unshaken effrontery and unrelenting severity. He was installed into his high dignity with great state—

A new Court  
of Justice erect-  
ed.



a guard was appointed him, and the Dean's house at Westminster, given him as an habitation, with the title of "Lord President of the High Court of Justice." These proceedings alarmed the whole nation. None were louder in their vituperations than the Presbyterian Divines. But too late: their admonitions were despised: their own subserviency was now remembered: the very same arguments which they used to enkindle the war, were made use of to justify the intended murder of the King. The Scots protested by their Commissioners—the States of Holland by their Ambassadors—the Prince of Wales made use of every expedient to deliver his father; and some of the most eminent of the nobility proposed themselves as hostages, or, if that were not sufficient, offered to suffer in his stead. These noble-minded men, whose names ought to be recorded with honor, were the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earl of Southampton, and the Earl of Lindsey.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

Four noble-  
men offer them-  
selves for the  
King.

But all these offers were made in vain to men, who, under the infernal delusion of their own passions, laid claim to a divine inspiration, and pretended to "Ducts and calls of Providence."

During these preparations, the King was removed from Windsor to St. James's, and committed to the charge of Colonel Tomlinson, under whose surveillance he was treated with greater rudeness than before: deprived of every attend-

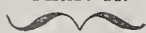
Removed to  
St James's.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.



ance and shew of Royalty, and abridged in his diet and exercise. But he discovered no uneasiness under this uncourteous treatment, calmly observing “Is there any thing more contemptible than a despised Prince?” Such, indeed, was the mingled dignity and meekness of his demeanour, that his guards were shaken in their fidelity to their officers by the force of his piety and innocence; nor were the same men permitted to serve twice on that duty.

A. D. 1694.

N. S.

On the twentieth of January, the King was removed to Whitehall, and, last of all, to Sir Robert Cotton’s house, near Westminster Hall, as most convenient for his approaching trial. During all the persecutions and privations which he suffered at this period, he observed his usual prudence and patience. No outward perturbation could be discerned. His christian fortitude triumphed over every indignity. Scarcely a sigh escaped his breast—not one reproachful or revengeful word escaped his lips, only saying, “May God forgive them their impiety.”

The King in  
the Hall of  
Judgment.

At length, the day of his public ignominy arrived, and at the command of the Lord President, the Royal Prisoner was brought up, under a strong guard, and delivered to the Serjeant-at-arms, who conducted him to the Bar, where a crimson velvet chair was prepared for him. The King, looking round with stern majesty, conveyed a solemn rebuke to the members of this mock



tribunal, and without uncovering his head, sat down.


SECTION  
IV.

CHAP. II.

His indictment read.

Silence being proclaimed, Bradshaw, with an arrogant and supercilious air, addressed him in the following strain: "The Commons of England assembled in Parliament, being deeply sensible of the evils and calamities which had been brought upon the nation, and of the innocent blood which had been shed, and which was fixed upon him as the principal author, had resolved to make inquisition for this blood; and according to the debt they did owe to God, to justice, and to themselves, and according to the fundamental trust reposed in them by the people, had resolved to bring him to trial and judgment; and, for that purpose, had constituted that court of justice, to which he was then brought. He should now hear his charge upon which the Court would proceed, *according to justice.*" At the command of the President, Mr. Cook, the solicitor, proceeded to read the impeachment, charging the King with all the calamity and bloodshed in which the nation had been involved: an involuntary smile played upon the King's cheek, discovering how deeply sensible he was of the monstrous falsehood and absurdity of the charges alleged against him. Bradshaw, with an assumed air of authority reprehended the King for want of respect to the Court before which he was arraigned, and, after many impertinent observations, con-



SECTION IV. CHAP. II.  The King denies their authority.

cluded by asking him, "what answer he had to make to that impeachment?" The King, without discovering the least alteration in his countenance, replied: "That he was their King, and they, his subjects, who owed him duty and obedience. That no Parliament had authority to convene him before them; but that they were not the Parliament, nor had any authority from Parliament. That he would not so much betray himself and his Royal dignity, as to answer any thing they objected against him, as it might be interpreted into an acknowledgment of their authority, though he firmly believed, that every person within the walls of that court, did, in their own consciences, fully absolve him from all the *material things* objected against him." Bradshaw here interrupted him, and begged him "not to deceive himself; that the Parliament knew their own authority, and would not suffer it to be called in question; and, even threatened him with the punishment, which the law pronounced against those who stand mute and refuse to plead." The King was now removed by the guard, and as he passed along, the multitude were differently affected at his appearance. Many with bleeding hearts and weeping eyes, lamented the unhappy fate of their beloved Prince. Others received him with cruel upbraiding and reproaches, calling him tyrant and murderer: whilst one of the soldiers even spat in his face, which the King



wiped off with his handkerchief, and mildly said, SECTION  
 “ my Saviour endured far more than this, for me.” IV.

Soon after this, another soldier calling out: “ God CHAP. II.  
 bless you, sir,” the King courteously thanked him,  
 upon which his officer struck him on the head,  
 which his Majesty observing said: “ the punish-  
 ment, methinks, exceeds the offence.”

The next day was Sunday, and vast crowds of  
 people repaired to Westminster, to see the King: Maintains the  
 supremacy of  
 the Law.  
 but they were dissatisfied: his Majesty spent  
 the greatest part of that day in the most solemn  
 devotions. On Monday he was again brought  
 up, under a strong guard, to Westminster Hall;  
 where the solicitor moved the Court: “ that the  
 prisoner give a positive answer to his charge, or,  
 that the Court would take the matter of it *pro*  
*confesso*, and proceed accordingly.” The King,  
 however, still insisted upon his former plea, that  
 the Court had no authority to proceed against  
 him, declaring, “ that power, without law, could  
 never make LAW.” He told them, “ that he stood  
 there to plead the cause of England as well as his  
 own, and desired that he might be heard,” at the  
 same time producing a paper on which his argu-  
 ments were written. Bradshaw boldly interposed,  
 and demanded his entire submission to the autho-  
 rity of the Court. The King insisted upon the  
 superior authority of the laws of the land, affirm-  
 ing that he knew as much law as any gentleman  
 in England; and that he pleaded for the liberties



SECTION of the people more sincerely than *they* did." He  
 IV. was again interrupted by the President, upon  
 CHAP. II. which the King remarked: "remember you re-  
 fuse to hear your King," demanding "what kind  
 of a Court that was, where reason could not be  
 heard?" to which the Court inadvertently, but  
 with great truth replied: "He should find it  
 there." The King still refusing, his contempt  
 was recorded, and the Court adjourned.

False witness-  
 es produced.

The proceedings on the following day were of a  
 similar description; and on the Wednesday, the  
 Commissioners sat in the painted chamber in a  
 sort of mock examination of witnesses, against  
 the King. Thirty-three persons, of the meanest  
 condition and most profligate lives, raked out of  
*fifteen* counties were examined; and their deposi-  
 tions, which were taken on oath, were either  
 irrelevant, or false and inconsistent.

His death  
 fixed.

Whilst these things were acted openly in the  
 view of the people, the merciless cabal held their  
 private meetings, in which, it was debated as to  
 the time, place, and manner, of the King's death.  
 Various barbarous and infamous modes of death  
 were suggested; but, at length, the majority  
 agreed that he should be beheaded on a scaffold,  
 to be erected before the banquetting House, at  
 Whitehall: "that from the same place where he  
 was used to mount the throne, and appear in the  
 sacred pomp of Majesty, he might pass on to the  
 block; and cast off the ornaments of royalty



where he was commonly invested with them." And, as it was apprehended that he might refuse to yield to their unjust sentence and submit himself to the stroke of the executioner, they ordered iron rings and staples to be fixed into the scaffold, for the purpose of drawing down his head and hands to the block!

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

After two days consultation, the grand theatre was again opened for the last time. The President, without noticing the King, was proceeding to address the Court, when his Majesty again desired that he might be heard before judgment was passed; observing, that, "an hasty judgment could not easily be recalled." After some delay the King's request was acceded to, and he proceeded to say:—"That if he had had respect to his life, more than the peace of the Kingdom and the liberty of his subjects, he should certainly have made a particular defence, because he might by that means have, at least, delayed a hard sentence which he believed would pass upon him. But still having something to say which did concern *both*, he desired to be heard in the painted Chamber, before the Lords and Commons. He observed that this delay could not be prejudicial to them; and if they refused, he protested, that all these fair shews of peace and liberty were mere disguises, and that they would not hear their King."

Last day of trial.

This address produced a considerable sensation in the Court: The President objected, that it was

The King's request.



SECTION another method of declining the jurisdiction of the  
 IV. Court; but the King strongly urging his point,  
 CHAP. II. many were of opinion that it was his intention  
 solemnly to resign his kingdom to his Son. Colonel Downes moved with the speech of a suppliant King, said to Cawly and Walton whom he sat near :—"What ! have we hearts of stone ? Are we men ?" They replied, "he would ruin both himself and them," but he persisted, and said, "if he should die, he could not but speak." Cromwell then asked the King the purport of his communication. The King persisted in his request ; and told the President, that he had something to offer against the sentence, and desired the Court to adjourn. After some debate, the adjournment was agreed to, and the Court retired into the inner "Court of Wards." Colonel Downes zealously urged many things in the King's favour, and contended that his earnest desire to be heard before Parliament, was but reasonable. Cromwell had now a critical part to act : he fell into a fury ; and said ; "It was not fit that the Court should be hindered from their duty by one peevish man ; and if the bottom was known, he would fain save his old Master" and concluded, by desiring the Court to proceed, without further delay, in the performance of their duty. Others taking courage by the example of their leader, followed in the same strain, and treated the Colonel with great severity.

Cromwell in-  
 terferes.



The Court having re-assembled, Bradshaw informed the King that his request was only tendered to delay justice; and it was their unanimous resolution to proceed to judgment. The King confessed it was a delay: but a delay of importance which concerned the peace of the kingdom, as much as the safety of his own person, and required them, as they would answer it at the dreadful day of judgment, to consider it once again. But the Court was inexorable; and Bradshaw told him, that they had fully considered his proposal, and that if he had nothing further to answer, they were prepared to proceed to judgment," to which the King subjoined "that he had nothing more to say; but requested that what he had said might be recorded." Bradshaw now commenced his address, in which he endeavoured, at considerable length, to justify their proceedings—misapplying both law and history—wresting the declarations of the one, and the facts of the other, to serve his purpose; and concluded by advising him to a serious repentance. The King bore all his insulting calumnies with his usual patience; but when he attempted to speak and to defend himself against the imputations laid to his charge,—with a peremptory air, Bradshaw told him: "his time was past:" and, immediately proceeded to pass the dreadful sentence.—"This Court doth adjudge that the said Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy, shall be put to death by

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

The final  
judgment passed.

27th January,  
A. D. 1649.

N. S.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.



the severing his head from his body." Whilst the President was pronouncing these words, the King was observed, with a placid smile, lifting up his eyes to heaven, as if appealing to the Divine Majesty, in whose presence he had long seemed to live: and when Bradshaw had concluded, the King offered once more to speak; but he was interrupted and hurried away from the inhuman tribunal; and on his way to Sir Robert Cotton's house, he was exposed to the scoffs and insults of the soldiery who blew the smoke of tobacco into his face, the smell of which was exceedingly disagreeable to him. But he bore all these affronts with the most heroic patience.

Concern of  
the President's  
wife.

The feeling which pervaded the public mind during these transactions was intense. The agitated state of mind under which the wife of Bradshaw laboured, during these proceedings, must be recorded. The King's sentence was passed on Saturday the twenty-seventh of January. It was on the morning of that day, that the President's wife rushing into his chamber, with lamentations and tears, threw herself on her knees before him, and entreated him, that he would have nothing to do with his majesty, nor sentence his earthly King, for fear of the dreadful sentence of the King of heaven. "You have no child she continued—why should you do such a monstrous act to favour others?" But with insufferable pride he rejected her entreaties, observing: "I confess he has done me no



harm, nor will I do him any, except what the law commands,"

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

At the rising of the court, the King was removed in a sedan chair, under a guard of Halberdiers, to White-Hall; and from thence to St. James'. The streets through which he passed were lined with a strong guard of foot soldiers, who were silent as his Majesty passed. The shops and windows were crowded with people, many of whom were bathed in tears, and expressed aloud their lamentations and prayers. On his arrival at St. James', the King requested two things: "that he might have liberty to see his Children, and that Dr. Juxon the Bishop of London, might be permitted to assist him in his devotions." No fear, no anxiety, no perturbation appeared in the conduct of the King, and he gave all his directions with equal meekness and equanimity. All his thoughts were employed in preparing for that death which he now saw to be inevitable; and he resolved, to seclude himself from all outward interruptions. For this purpose, he charged Mr. Herbert to admit no one to his presence, whom it was not absolutely necessary for him to see. "I know," said he, "my nephew, the Prince Elector, and some other Lords that love me, will endeavour to gain permission to see me, which I take very kindly; but my time is short and precious, and I desire to improve it the best I can in preparation. I hope they will not take it amiss that none have access to me but my

The King's  
conduct.



SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. Children. The best office they can now do, is to pray for me." It happened as he expected: for his Electoral Highness, accompanied by the four Lords of excellent memory, the Duke of Richmond the Marquis of Hertford, and the Earls of Southampton and Lindsey, having obtained leave, in the silence of sorrow, approached the door of his apartment. Mr. Herbert acquainted them with the King's charge, in which they, sorrowfully, acquiesced, and presenting their humble duty to his Majesty, retired, with marks of deep concern and the most poignant grief.

Public feeling. The next day was Sunday, and the King was engaged in the most profound devotions. The pulpits of the Presbyterian Divines resounded with denunciations against "the impiety of the Parricides" and deprecated the heavy judgments which such a sinful nation, polluted with the blood of their Prince, was to expect. Universal grief, fear and indignation prevailed. All countenances gathered sadness and astonishment, and a sudden panic seized the minds of all men, as if some prodigious national evil was about to happen.

Final proposals. But the unfortunate Monarch was still to be persecuted by his tormentors: on this very day, the hours of which had been consecrated by their prisoner to the purposes of religion, he was interrupted by their appearance, They presented him with a paper, tendering him his life and some shadow of royalty if he would subscribe it.



Amongst many other propositions destructive of the established religion, and the laws and liberties of the kingdom, one was : *That he should keep on foot the army, under their present General and Officers, to the amount of forty thousand, as long as it should be the pleasure of those whom they should nominate to the command of the Militia. That the whole management should be left with the Council of War—that a tax on land, should be settled for its support, to be levied and collected by the army itself ; and that a Court Martial of extraordinary power should be established.* But as soon as the insulted Monarch had read a few of these tyrannical and arbitrary proposals, he threw the papers aside with indignation, saying : “ I will rather become a sacrifice for my people, than betray their laws and liberties, their lives and estates, with the Church, commonwealth and honor of the Crown to the bondage of an armed faction.”

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

It was yet Sunday, and the Bishop of London was not permitted to attend his Majesty. Several of the London ministers, however, were admitted. Amongst these were Mr. Calamy, Mr. Vines, Mr. Caryle, and Mr. Goodwin, who offered their spiritual assistance. But the King, after thanking them in a very handsome manner, acquainted them, that he had made choice of Dr. Juxon, for that purpose, and dismissed them with great civility. In the evening the Bishop arrived, and was received by the King with great cheerfulness;

The dissent.  
ing ministers.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

The King's  
resignation.

but the other, depressed with grief, could not refrain from expressing his concern and condoling with his Majesty on the melancholy circumstances of his situation. But the King, interrupting him, said: "Leave off this my Lord; we have not time for it. Let us think of our great work, and prepare to meet that great God, to whom, ere long, I am to give account of myself; and I hope I shall do it with peace. We will not talk of these rogues into whose hands I have fallen. They thirst after my blood, and they will have it: but God's will be done. I thank God, I heartily forgive them, and I will talk of them no more." After this, they spent two or three hours in deep conference, reading select passages of scripture, with supplications and prayers. They were interrupted by the arrival of Mr. Seymour, a gentleman of the bed-chamber to the Prince. Being admitted, he presented the King with a letter from his Royal Highness, dated from the Hague. Mr. Seymour was overwhelmed with distress, and having kissed the King's hand, he clasped around his knees uttering such mournful expressions of grief, that Colonel Hacker who had the command of the King's guard, was greatly affected. But as soon as the King had read his son's letter, and imparted what he wished to Mr. Seymour, the latter retired; and the King and the Bishop returned to their devotions.



Next morning, the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester her brother, came to take their last sad farewell of the King their father, and to receive his blessing. The Princess, thirteen years of age, a lady of excellent understanding, was most sensibly touched at her Royal Father's condition: and her little brother, who was only eight years of age, seeing her weep, was overcome with sobs and tears. The King tenderly raised them both from their knees, kissed them, and gave them his blessing. Placing them upon his knees he caressed and admonished them. He told the Princess not to grieve or torment herself for him, for his would be a glorious death, being for the Laws and Liberties of the land, and for maintaining the TRUE PROTESTANT RELIGION; and, that he doubted not but that God would settle his son upon the throne, and that they would all be happier than they could have expected to have been, if he had lived. He then required her to read Bishop Andrew's Sermons, Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, and Laud's Book against Fisher, which would guard her against Popery. He told her that he had forgiven all his enemies, and desired them also to forgive them; but never to trust them, for they had been most false to him, and to them who gave them power, and he feared also, to their own souls. He particularly required her to tell her mother, that his thoughts had never strayed from her, and that his love should

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

His conference with his children.



SECTION IV.  
 CHAP. II.

be the same to the last. Then tenderly looking at her, he said: "Sweetheart, you will forget this!" "No," said the Princess "I shall never forget it as long as I live," and shedding a flood of tears promised to write down the particulars. Then addressing the Duke of Gloucester, he said "Child, mark what I say. They will cut off thy father's head, and, perhaps, make thee a King. But mark what I say. You must not be a King whilst your brothers, Charles and James are alive. Therefore I charge thee, do not be made a King by them." At which the child said, with a sigh: "I will be torn in pieces first." The King appeared much pleased with such a decisive answer from so young a child; and, having presented them with all his jewels, he blessed them and sent them away.

The Prince of  
 Wales sends to  
 Cromwell.

In the meantime, there arrived, from the continent, Colonel John Cromwell, nearly related to the Lieutenant-General, with credentials from the States of Holland. He was the bearer of a "carte blanche," to which was attached the King's signet, as well as the Prince's: and, both, confirmed by the States, for Oliver Cromwell to write his own conditions, if he would save the life of the King.

The Colonel, immediately proceeded to the house of his kinsman; but he was with the greatest difficulty admitted. After mutual salutations, the Colonel freely reasoned with him on the

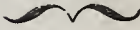


heinousness of the deed which they were about to transact, expressed his astonishment that he should be concerned in it, since he had heard him, so frequently, protest in favour of the King. To which Cromwell with his usual wiliness answered: "It was not he, but the army. He owned he had spoken in favour of the King; but that times were altered, and Providence seemed to dispose things otherwise; that he had fasted and prayed for the King, but no return that way, was yet made to him." Upon which the Colonel producing his papers: "Cousin," said he, "this is no time to trifle with words. See here, it is now in your power not only to make yourself, but your family, relations, and posterity, happy and honorable for ever; otherwise, this deed will bring such an ignominy upon the whole generation and name of Cromwell, that no time will be able to efface." Cromwell paused, and seeming to reflect with himself said: "Cousin, I desire you will give me till night for reflection, retire to your inn, but not to bed, till you hear from me." The Colonel then took his leave, and, about one o'clock that night, a person arrived at his Inn with the following message. "He might go to rest, nor wait for further answer to carry to the Prince, for the Officers had been SEEKING GOD, and he, also, had done the same, and it was resolved by them all that, the King should die."

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.



Cromwell rejects his offers.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.



During the time of the King's interview with his children, the leaders and managers of this execrable deed, were consulting how they should conclude their bloody tragedy on the following day; and the warrant for his execution was subscribed, that night, by fifty-nine of the Commissioners, and directed to Colonel Hacker, Colonel Huncks, and Lieutenant Phray. The whole day the King eat and drank very sparingly, a great part of it being spent in prayer and devotion; and it was some hours after night, before the Bishop took leave of him. Before his departure, the King spoke to him respecting the Prince of Wales, and requested him to be early in his attendance next morning; after which he continued more than two hours in reading and prayer. On retiring to rest, he desired Mr. Herbert to sleep on a pallet near him; where that gentleman could take no rest; but, the King slept soundly for four hours, as if he had nothing to discompose his thoughts.

The King's  
devotion.

About two hours before day, he awoke; and called to Mr. Herbert to rise, "For," said he, "I will get up, having a great work to do this day: this, Herbert, is my second marriage day: I would be as trim to day as may be; for, before night I hope to be espoused to my blessed Jesus." And then, appointing what clothes he should wear, he said with his usual prudence and foresight. "Let me have a garment more than ordinary; for the



season is so sharp, as probably to make me shake, which some observers will imagine to proceed from fear. I would have no such imputation, I fear not death. Death, is, in no wise, terrible to me. I bless my God I am prepared." The Bishop now arrived according to promise, when the King, taking a Bible, in which he had written many annotations and quotations with his own hand, delivered it to Mr. Herbert with a strict charge to deliver it to the Prince, his son; and to state, that "as from his heart he had forgiven his enemies, and would leave the world in perfect charity with all men, so he advised his son to exceed in mercy, not in rigour: that as to Episcopacy it was still his opinion, that it is of Apostolic Institution, and, in this kingdom exercised from the most primitive times. And that it was his last and earnest request that he would frequently read the BIBLE; which, in all the time of his affliction, had been his instructor and delight." Having then delivered to the same Gentleman some presents for his children, the Earl of Lindsey and the Duke of Richmond, he retired with the Bishop to his devotions, who immediately proceeded to the service of the day, and read the twenty-seventh chapter of Saint Matthew, the history of our Saviour's passion. The King supposing it had been selected on purpose, thanked the Bishop for his seasonable choice. But the Bishop modestly replied "that it was the Lesson

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.



appointed in the Calendar for the day," which the King regarded as a providential interposition to fortify his mind against the terrors of his approaching conflict; and a suitable preparation for the Holy Sacrament, in the participation of which he enjoyed the greatest satisfaction.

Leaves his  
prison.

It was now ten o'clock in the morning; and Colonel Hacker, in the performance of his duty, approached, and, with a trembling hand, knocked, gently, at the door of the King's closet, for the purpose of conducting him to White-hall, where he said "his Majesty would have some time allowed to rest." The King came out with the Bishop and Mr. Herbert; and, passing through the garden, under a strong guard, walked between the Bishop and Colonel Tomlinson, both bare-headed. His Majesty walking fast, hastened them saying:—"He now went before them, to strive for a heavenly crown, which he ought not to do with less solicitude, than he had been accustomed to do, when encouraging his soldiers to, contend for an earthly diadem." At the end of the Park, the King ascended, through the long gallery, into the Cabinet chamber, where they permitted him for some time, to confer in private with the Bishop. Whilst thus engaged at his last private devotions, Nye, and some bold Ministers, knocked at the door. The Bishop opening it, they told him they came to offer their service to pray with him. When the King declined their offer, they became



more importunate, and seeming to demand a more explicit answer, his Majesty said: "Then thank them from me, for the tender of themselves: but tell them, plainly, that they who have so often, and, causelessly, prayed against me, shall never pray with me in this agony. They may, if they please, pray for me, and I will thank them for it."

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

It was a cold, dark day; and a dinner of two or three dishes had been prepared for him, at White-hall. But he refused to eat, designing the "Lord's Supper" to be his last refreshment on earth. But the Bishop urged him to consider how long he had fasted: and how severe was the weather; and, that if a fit of fainting should seize him, his murderers would put an injurious interpretation upon it; by these means he prevailed upon him to take half a manchet of bread and a glass of wine. Colonel Hacker now announced that the fatal moment had arrived. He was ready at the call; and proceeded with him and the Bishop, with a composed and tranquil air, through the Banqueting House, and by a passage made through a window, to the scaffold. It was covered with black: two executioners in masks, stood prepared to strike the final blow. Vast crowds of spectators appeared in the distance, whilst the nearer space was crowded with armed men. But his Christian courage never forsook him, for a moment. He looked round upon the array with settled composure: one thing alone concerned

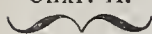
Conduct at  
White-hall.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.



Speech on the  
scaffold.

him, that the people were so far removed from the scaffold by the numerous guards of horse and foot, that he could not address them in the manner which he intended. He, therefore, addressed himself to Colonel Tomlinson and those who stood with him on the scaffold, which he did to the following effect: “ I should have had no difficulty in holding my peace, did I not think that my silence might be misconstrued into an admission of guilt. I think it, therefore, my duty, first to God, and next to my country, to clear myself as an innocent man, and a good King. All the world knows that I never began the war with the two Houses of Parliament. The dates of their commissions and my own, are a sufficient proof: and I call God to witness, before whom I must shortly appear, that I never did intend to encroach upon their privileges. I confess, at the same time, that God’s judgments upon me are just, which are, many times, exacted by an unjust sentence, nor must I complain of this retribution: for, I also allowed an unjust sentence to pass upon the Earl of Strafford, for which I am now receiving a just retribution. This good man, pointing to the Bishop—will bear me witness that I have forgiven all the world—even the chief promoters of my death—nay, I hope my charity extends further: I wish they may repent; and I pray, like Saint Stephen, that this sin may never be laid to their charge; and, as a good King, it shall be my



endeavour, to the last gasp, to seek the peace of the kingdom. The men who take the lead in public affairs have gained their present power by conquest, but conquest without a just cause is robbery. Yet they will never prosper till they give God his due, the King and his successors their due, and the people their due. They must give God his due by regulating his Church according to scripture. And as the most likely means for settling this great question, I should propose a national synod. They must give the King his due, in which the Laws of the land would sufficiently instruct them. As for the people whose liberty and freedom I desire as much as any man, I tell them, this freedom consists in receiving from Government, those laws by which their lives and property shall be most their own. It is for maintaining this principle that I now come here. If I had yielded to arbitrary laws—if I had agreed to have the laws according to the power of the sword, I need not to have appeared on this scaffold, and I may, with truth declare, that I die the MARTYR of the People.”

At the conclusion of his speech of which this is but an imperfect outline, the Bishop reminded him, that, although it was well known what his affection was to the Protestant religion, it might be expected that he should say something for the world's satisfaction in that particular. The King heartily thanked him for his seasonable admoni-

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

The King's  
protestation  
and death.



SECTION IV.  
 CHAP. II.

tion, and declared, *that he died a christian, according to the profession of the Church of England*: then turning to the Officers he said: "I have a good cause and a gracious God." To Colonel Hacker he said: "Take care that they do not torture me" and gave him money, as well as to the executioner to whom he said: "I shall say a short prayer, and when I thrust out my hands \* \* \* After this he called for his cap, which he put on. The Bishop, then, in allusion to a private discourse which they had previously had, on the several stages of human life, said: "There is but one stage more, which though turbulent and troublesome will carry you a very great way—from earth to heaven, where you will find the desired prize, a crown of glory." To which the king replied. "Yes: I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where there can be no disturbance: "to which the Bishop rejoined, "a happy exchange!" Then taking off his cloak and "George" he delivered the latter to the Bishop, with one emphatic word, "REMEMBER." Then meekly laying his neck upon the block, after a short delay, stretching forth his hands, his head was at one blow severed from his body.

Tuesday,  
 30th Jan.  
 A. D. 1649.  
 N. S.

Thus perished in the forty ninth year of his age, whilst he was still in his full strength, King Charles the First of sacred memory, affording a monitory lesson, to all posterity, of the evils of arbitrary power—the danger of political expedi-



ency—the inutility of unjust concession to popular aggression ; and, the more than brutal violence of popular licentiousness. We stand back with horror, at the scene, which immediately followed the death of the unhappy Monarch. His inhuman persecutors despoiled the lifeless trunk, dipped their staves, and, even washed their hands in his blood. They cleft the block in pieces, and sold it to the impatient people, and the sand distained with gore. They even offered his hair for sale, and delivered the body to the camp Surgeons for dissection. Nor was this all. Contrary to all public faith, they seized the Bishop of London, rifled him of all his papers, searched his clothes and coffers, if any thing could be found which had been delivered to him by the King: and because, they suspected that the King's last word, “REMEMBER,” had some extraordinary meaning in it, the Judges abjured him with many threats, to enter into a full explanation of it. The good Bishop thus urged, at length disclosed the fatal secret. The King, my Master, bade me REMEMBER to carry this supreme command of his dying father, to the Prince his son and heir, THAT IF EVER HE WAS RESTORED TO HIS CROWN, HE SHOULD FORGIVE THE AUTHORS OF HIS DEATH.”

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

Nor was such a Prince, who had been taught thus to exercise the perfection of Christianity, unlamented by his subjects. Perhaps none of the King's of England ever left the world with more open marks of sorrow and affliction. The venerable Archbishop Usher, who beheld the tragic

Lamentations  
of the people.



SECTION scene from a window, swooned at sight of the fatal blow. When the tidings of his death spread through the country, such was the effect, that many of both sexes were seized with sudden faintings and lasting melancholy; and, it is said that some, seized with sudden convulsions, expired. Even his enemies relented. The pulpits of the ministers who had persecuted and defamed him, resounded with lamentations; and their congregations were overwhelmed with grief and tears. Men of all sorts and conditions, and almost of all sects, extolled his virtues, and compared him for his patience, piety and prudence, to Job, David and Solomon. The very homage covered them with infamy. But I must not enlarge. The tide of affairs rolls on; and we are called to contemplate other scenes. From this page let all future generations of our countrymen, learn to exercise a just moderation: never, for selfish, or party purposes, to encroach upon the grand principles of the Constitution—never to act upon presumptuous and unwarrantable impulses, but to adhere to the simple and rational precepts of Christianity,—like Charles Stuart King of England, who, by his inflexible integrity and stern adherence to the Civil and Religious principles of his country, has left behind him an imperishable record, and, earned for himself the just application of that brief and simple eulogium of holy writ—

“The Memory of the just is blessed.”



## CHAPTER III.

---

CHARLES II.—PRINCIPLES OF THE CONSTITUTION IN  
ABEYANCE—THE GOVERNMENT ASSUMES THE FORM  
OF AN OLIGARCHY—DEGENERATES INTO A MILITARY  
DESPOTISM, AND BECOMES INSUPPORTABLE. THE  
ANCIENT MONARCHY RESTORED—NEW PRINCIPLES  
OF GOVERNMENT ARE EVOLVED, AND THE THRONE  
IS FULLY ESTABLISHED.

---

IMMEDIATELY on the death of the late Monarch, according to a fundamental law of the English Constitution, his eldest son, Charles the Second, succeeded to all the titles and dignities of his murdered parent. But he was then an exile on a foreign shore. During the civil war he conducted himself with great gallantry, as Captain of the royal Guards; and, on the surrender of the garrison of Oxford, he returned to the Court of France, at which place he received the fearful tidings of his father's death, and of the daring

SECTION  
IV.

CHAP. III.

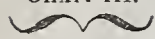
Charles II.

A. D. 1649.



SECTION usurpation and distractions which still prevailed  
IV. in his native land.

CHAP. III.

 It was his misfortune to behold the Monarchy  
The Usurper which had withstood the repeated shocks of  
appears, preceding ages, and survived the most violent  
struggles and convulsions of the State, torn from  
its deep foundations, and hurled in fury on the  
wild waste of political agitation; whilst the  
discordant elements of rebellion, anarchy, and  
fanaticism, were struggling for that ascendancy  
which their individual force, or the peculiar cir-  
cumstances of their position, might enable them to  
assume. Nor was the struggle long. The master-  
spirit, whose genius had hitherto directed the  
storm of misrule, was at hand. His unwearied  
energies, his invincible daring, his irresistible  
impetuosity, marked him out as the instrument  
of divine vengeance, raised up, at that parti-  
cular juncture, to chastise the rage and impiety  
of all parties. In his hands was placed the  
“coercive power,” which he exercised to debase  
the proud, restrain the wicked, defeat the am-  
bitious, and deceive the visionary: and, after  
wielding for a season, all the energies of the king-  
dom—battering down the high imaginations of  
irresponsible prerogative—the violence of Repub-  
lican fury, and the wild folly of fanaticism; and,  
after, in the execution of the divine purposes, pre-  
paring the way for just and reasonable principles of  
Government, he was destined, himself, to sink



under the laws of an awful necessity, to be given up to the stings of remorse and the upbraidings of conscience; and, at last, struck with death, compelled to deliver up the seat of power to its legitimate owner. These are the things before us.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. III.

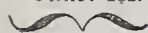
The Parliament, which, as we have already seen, had been purged to its lowest dregs, proceeded, under the direction of the Army, to exercise the power which had been placed in their hands. A proclamation was issued, declaring it high treason for any person to declare “Charles Stuart, or any other person, King, or Chief Magistrate of England.” With equal facility they passed a resolution, that the House of Peers in Parliament was useless and dangerous; nor did they rest satisfied till they had, by a formal vote, abolished, for ever, the Monarchy of England. These steps they considered as necessary preliminaries to the establishment of their own sovereignty, which they prepared to exercise by the formation of a new “Great Seal.” On one side, were the Cross and Harp,—the arms of England and Ireland, and on the reverse, the figure of Parliament, with the inscription, “IN THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM, BY GOD’S BLESSING, RESTORED!” This seal was committed to the custody of three lawyers, Whitlock, Keeble, and Lisle: the Judges were appointed, and the coining of money regulated, with the inflated inscription “God with us.” To strengthen their usurpation,



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.



an executive power was established, which they called "The Council of State," consisting of forty persons, composed of the principal actors of the times: an oath of secrecy and fidelity was imposed on the Members of the Council; and, to consolidate their power to the utmost, a solemn oath was ordained, called an "Engagement," in which every one taking office under the oligarchy was to swear to "be true and faithful to the Government established, without King, or House of Peers."

High Court  
of Justice re-  
opened.

These arrangements being made, the "High Court of Justice" was again opened for the enactment of other political murders. The first victim of their merciless policy was the Duke of Hamilton, who made great efforts to save his life; and even offered a ransom of £100,000. But all his endeavours, as well as those of his friends, were ineffectual; and he was condemned to lose his head. Similar efforts were made in the case of the Earl of Holland, the leader of the Presbyterian Faction; but in vain; and he was condemned to die by the casting vote of the Speaker! and still greater efforts were made to save the accomplished and gallant Lord Capel; but to no avail.

Duke of Ham-  
ilton suffers.

A scaffold was erected in front of Westminster Hall; and in the month of March these noble prisoners were brought forth, to act their last part in the national tragedy. The Duke of Hamilton, who, by his dark and intricate counsels, if not by



wicked treachery, had betrayed his master to his ruin, was the first to suffer under the usurpation which had destroyed him. He endured the evils to which his melancholy lot subjected him with great patience and devotion; and, certainly, at his last hour, expressed as magnanimous a sentiment as was ever uttered. Just at the moment when he was ready for the scaffold, some officers from Cromwell were introduced to him, who assured him, *that if he would discover what had been often asked of him, his life should yet be spared*; but he rejected their proposal, and, with great firmness replied: “If I had as many lives as hairs on my head, I would sooner lay them all down, than redeem them at so base a price.”

The next was the Earl of Holland, who by his double-minded policy and extraordinary acts of treachery, had, perhaps, as great a share as any man of his time, in the guilt of involving his country in ruin. After his sentence, he was in great distress and agony of mind, for some days, and was attended on the scaffold by two Presbyterian divines, by whose advice and prayers, it is said, he found relief.

The last, was the Lord Capel, a man, cast in the noblest mould, and in the enjoyment of every thing which could render life desirable—he had a wife of great beauty and unblemished reputation—a numerous and hopeful family, and large estates. He had been steady and uniform in his

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. III.

The Earl of  
Holland.

The Lord  
Capel.



SECTION fidelity to his Sovereign. But in one thing he  
 IV. had offended: he had pursued with many others,  
 CHAP. III. the innocent Earl of Strafford to the block—a  
 circumstance which he chiefly lamented in his  
 last moments, and viewed his own fate as a just  
 retribution for his offence. On the morning of  
 his execution, when in earnest conversation with  
 his chaplain on the subject, he said “I would not  
 for all the world have died without a public con-  
 fession of this sin; and making the best satisfac-  
 tion I can to the memory of the Lord Strafford  
 before God and man, for having my hands dipped  
 in his blood.” After this, with a serene counte-  
 nance, he passed through Westminster Hall to  
 the fatal scaffold; and, after a noble speech, with  
 unparalleled Christian Courage, submitted to the  
 stroke of the executioner. Thus fell, by ignoble  
 hands, one of the noblest sons of England. “He  
 was a man,” says the noble Historian, “that  
 whosoever shall, after him deserve best of the  
 English nation, can never think himself under-  
 valued when he shall hear that his courage, vir-  
 tue, and fidelity, is laid in the balance with, and  
 compared with, that of the Lord Capel.”

Effect of their  
 cruelty.

Nor, were the Regicides satisfied with the blood  
 of these unfortunate noblemen. Their cruelty  
 raged; and, great numbers perished in all parts  
 of the kingdom. But instead of striking terror as  
 they intended, into the hearts of the royalists,  
 their lawless severity only served to increase their



disgust and indignation; and “the High Court of Justice” was, generally, designated “*Cromwell’s new Slaughter House*.”

SECTION  
IV.

CHAP. III.

But whilst they pursued with unmitigated hatred, all those who adhered to the ancient Constitution, their own dissensions daily increased. The Presbyterians who were still a powerful party, perceiving their Church Government despised, and themselves slighted, turned their whole strength against the Oligarchy. At this juncture, Milton, the celebrated poet, appeared on the stage as the champion of the Independents. He drew his powerful pen against the Presbyterians, and brought all their sin to remembrance, charging them as the chief instruments of promoting the Civil War; and bringing the King to the scaffold. The Presbyterians he argued placed the King in the hands of the Independents and they murdered him. There was some truth in these assertions, and they quietly suffered every contempt and indignity from the ruling party.

Milton among  
the Independ-  
ents.

But the fanatical levellers, who had still more degenerated, were their greatest obstruction. They had become the open and avowed enemies of all Government, except that of the Saints, under the reign of Christ, whom they hourly expected. Whilst it suited the designs of Cromwell, he had never failed to encourage these delusions. But necessity, even had his interest not been concurrent with it, obliged him to put a stop to their

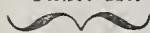
Cromwell  
stops the Lev-  
ellers in the  
army.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.



proceedings. Accordingly, he attempted to divide them; and orders were issued for ten regiments to embark for Ireland; but they refused to comply, broke out into open rebellion, and leaving their quarters marched to Burford, in Oxfordshire, where they amounted to five thousand men. But their career was short. Through the vigilance of Cromwell and Fairfax, they were pursued and entirely routed and dispersed.

Ireland invaded by Cromwell.

But another Foe was at hand: and the storm of war was about to burst upon the devoted kingdom of Ireland, whose sins and rebellion cried to Heaven for vengeance. The Marquis of Ormond had placed himself at the head of the loyalists, and having secured Dundalk, Trim, and Drogheda, directed his march to Dublin. But his camp being thrown into confusion by an unexpected sally from the town, by night, his followers were dispersed; and whilst he was endeavouring to recover them from their panic and to re-assemble them,—Cromwell, being appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and favoured by wind and tide, landed at Dublin. He lost not a moment, but impelled with the fury of revenge, carried fire and slaughter into every corner of the devoted land. Drogheda, first, fell under his resistless attack; and the whole town was sacrificed, as he said, to the ghosts of the murdered English; and, so strictly were his orders executed, that it is said not more than thirty persons escaped. Such was



the terror inspired by this terrific slaughter, that many places surrendered without a summons: but more were marked out for destruction. Wexford suffered the fate of Drogheda. Ross was taken by assault. The sieges of Duncannon and Waterford occupied a longer period; but, after immense loss on both sides, they were reduced. It was the month of December, and although Cromwell's army was reduced by cold, and disease, and fatigue, to four thousand men, and the Marquis of Ormond was at the head of an army of eight thousand men, nothing could stop his progress, until he had made himself master of the province of Ulster.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

In the meantime, Prince Rupert at the first sound of war, appeared with a fleet, off the coast of Ireland: but being encountered by the celebrated Blake with a more powerful fleet, he sailed to Lisbon, where he was blockaded. But the active spirit of the Prince could not long be restrained: he ventured out and sailed to the coasts of Malaga, where he destroyed several English vessels: but a heavy blow impended over him. He was closely pursued by his persevering foe, and, being driven among the Western Islands, he was separated in a hurricane from his beloved brother Maurice, whose vessel perished in the storm. His loss was not only a grief to the Prince; but, to all the good and the brave, in Christendom. He was snatched away in the

Death of  
Prince Maurice



SECTION thirtieth year of his age, leaving says the historian  
 IV. “his great fame to posterity, and the love of his  
 CHAP. III. person to his contemporaries.”

Conquest of Ireland. The industry, perseverance, and prudence, of the Marquis of Ormond, under the pressing difficulties of his situation, were incredible. But he could not allay the wild animosities of his Irish confederates, and they deserted in crowds to Cromwell, who was thus prepared at the return of spring, for a short and bloody campaign. Calan was first put to the sword: Gowram fell next, where Hammond, the governor, and some of his chief officers were shot in cold blood. Kilkenny and Clonmell, soon after, shared the same fate, whilst his Generals in the North were equally successful. McMahon, at the head of three thousand Irish, the first promoters and the most cruel actors in the Protestant massacre, received a fearful retribution. They had purged themselves from all the English soldiers, under a superstitious notion that they could not prosper whilst one remained in their ranks; and, being encountered by Cort and Venables, were entirely cut in pieces: such a scourge was Cromwell, and his associates, to that unhappy and perfidious people!

England in great distress. Whilst Ireland was thus exposed to the miseries of war, England was groaning under the yoke of the oppressor; the adherents of the Royal cause were persecuted with unrelenting severity. The lands of the King, the Clergy, and the Cava-



liers, were seized for the public use. The rights of all men were invaded and the liberties of all oppressed. Imprisonment, composition, and sequestrations, became the ordinary acts of Government, as if spoliation and robbery were its legitimate province.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

Innumerable evils arose from the lawlessness of the people. Bodies of disorderly men and disbanded soldiers traversed the country, broke into houses, and committed numberless ravages. In religion, the most unheard of disorders prevailed. The most pernicious heresies, the wildest enthusiasm, and the most awful blasphemy, every where prevailed.\* Amongst these was George Fox, the most extravagant enthusiast that ever lived, and whose name would not deserve a record in History, had he not founded the sect of the Quakers, since called the "Society of Friends."†

\* A Preacher, at Coventry, named Salmon, declared that God was the doer of evil, and taught his followers to commit every sort of abomination on the ground that they were doing the work of God. Another, of the name of Wyke, took upon him the power of breathing the spirit of God into men, by kissing them three times. Socialism is no novelty.

† In his writings, which are extant, are found sentiments at once absurd and blasphemous. He says of himself "I am the door that ever was, the same Christ yesterday, to day and for ever." In another, "All languages to me are no more than dust, who was before languages were." But the present opinion of the Society of Friends must not be confounded with the extravagant pretensions of their founder. Since his time, they have had many clever apologists, especially Barclay and Gurney, who have reformed the tenets of their system, and brought it much nearer the Christian standard. But there are still many peculiarities, especially the rejection of the two sacraments, which discover their fanatical origin.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

Scotland pro-  
poses terms to  
the King.

But other triumphs awaited the Conqueror of Ireland. Scotland was about to suffer the chastisement, which was due to its dissimulation and treachery. The Scots had long before sent Commissioners to treat with the King, who had retired with a slender court to Breda; but the conditions which they offered were so harsh, and severe, and dishonorable, that he instantly rejected them. But they were now more successful, although the terms of agreement were not much less severe. They demanded as the price of their allegiance and service, that all persons, under the excommunication of the Kirk, should be banished from Court. This was for the purpose of excluding the Marquis of Montrose, the King's most faithful servant. He was required to swear to the solemn League and Covenant, to establish the Directory, Confession of faith and Catechism—to observe them in his own family, and never to attempt any alteration—to consent that all civil affairs should be managed by Parliament and all Ecclesiastical matters by the Assembly.

There was every reason from the confused state of Scotland, from the vigour and power of England, to induce the King to reject conditions, which were abhorrent to his honor and conscience. But the Duke of Buckingham and other noblemen who attended him, supported by the Prince of Orange urged him to the attempt; and, on the fallacious ground that when the people of Scot-



land saw their Sovereign, their loyalty and affection would immediately relax from the severity of their proposals. But previously to any resolution of this kind, the King had granted to the Marquis of Montrose, whose element was action, a commission to raise forces in the kingdom of Scotland. He delayed not a moment, but, for fear a treaty with the Scots might annul his authority, with a few hundred soldiers supplied by the Duke of Holstein, he landed in Scotland. And though he did not meet with the reception he expected, he was still undaunted and led his army southward, where he was soon met by General Stranghan, and entirely defeated. A price was set upon his head. But such was the love and veneration of the people for him, that there was little expectation of his being given up. But every scheme which the deadliest hate of his enemies could invent, was set at work. The Presbyterian Ministers, from their pulpits, exhorted the people to search him out, and discover his retreat as a thing necessary for their salvation. He threw himself, however, upon the honour of Lord Aston, who delivered him to his pursuers: and he was brought to Edinburgh, where a degrading triumph was prepared by his enemies. He was seated on a high cart, and ignominiously bound with cords; and, preceded by the common hangman, he was conducted to the public gaol. Within, two days, he was brought before the

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

The Earl of  
Montrose lands  
in Scotland.



SECTION Parliament, where he was treated with great harshness and severity, which ended in a most cruel and barbarous sentence. But nothing could shake his magnanimity or daunt his courage, and he made a calm and dignified reply to his accusers. On his return to prison the Presbyterian Ministers followed him, insulted over his fall, and aggravated the terror of his sentence, which they alleged was to be followed by "eternal damnation;" but signified their earnest wish to intercede for him, with the Kirk, if he would give them solid proofs of repentance. He rejected their officiousness, telling them they were a deluded and deluding people: and as if gifted with prophecy, forewarned them that they would shortly bring their miserable country, into the most insupportable servitude. Atrocious as his sentence was, he welcomed it.—"He would rather," he said, "have his head set upon the gate of his prison, than have his picture hung in the King's chamber—that he was so far from being troubled, that his four limbs should be hanged in four cities of the kingdom, that he heartily wished he had flesh enough to be sent to every city in Christendom, as a monument of his loyalty to his King and country." On the day of execution, he suffered every indignity with patience, and at last, after devout ejaculations to God, he calmly submitted to the last acts of the executioner.

IV.

CHAP. III.

His defeat  
and death.



The King was at Breda, when the news of this horrible transaction reached him, which he greatly resented, and demanded an account of it from themselves. They had recourse to their usual artifices, and avowed that it was all intended to serve his Majesty.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

The Royal party, indeed, did not believe a word of this excusation; and they determined, if it were only for the purpose of keeping alive the interest of the royal cause, to proceed to Scotland; but which an overruling Providence remarkably turned to the condign punishment of that kingdom. It was the twenty-ninth of June, when the King cast anchor at the mouth of the river Spey; and contrary to all expectation, he was obliged to sign the Covenant, before he was permitted to land.

The King  
lands in Scot-  
land the 23rd of  
June.  
A. D. 1650.

The Marquis of Argyle was the principal person engaged in these transactions, and the chief actor in the scenes which are about to be transacted. He used all his address to render himself agreeable to the young Monarch, and provided him with everything suitable to his high dignity; but reserved the whole management of affairs to himself. In the meantime, the Presbyterian Ministers pursued him with untiring zeal. They insisted on his constant attendance on their long prayers. On Sundays, their rigorous exactions were intolerable, whilst their sermons and their very prayers were libels and bitter invectives against the actions of his father, the idolatry of



SECTION his mother, and the malignancy of himself. But  
 IV. the folly and impropriety of their conduct was  
 CHAP. III. soon made manifest.

Cromwell  
 Commander-  
 in-chief.

On the fifteenth of July, the King was proclaimed. A numerous army was levied under the command of the Earl of Leiven. But Cromwell was on his way; not as Lieutenant General, but as Commander-in-chief of the English forces—a post to which he succeeded on the resignation of the Lord Fairfax, who refused to take up arms against the Scots, as he considered it a breach of the Solemn League and Covenant. His resignation was a final blow to the Presbyterian interest. On such a circumstance was the elevation of Cromwell made to turn!

With rapid marches, at the head of eleven thousand men, Cromwell advanced to the borders of Scotland; and on the twenty-third of July, crossed the Tweed. He found the Scottish army occupying a very advantageous position near Edingburgh; and resolutely encamped his forces around Musselburgh. In this perilous situation, he was reduced to such straits from want of provisions, that if the Scotch had collected their strength and acted upon national instead of visionary principles, the English army must have been destroyed. But they were entangled in the web of their own inventions, and destroyed by the same spirit of error and delusion which had actuated them from the beginning. For some time,



they would not permit the King to join the army, because he was the “root and fountain of all malignancy,” and no blessing could attend their arms, under such a general; and when at length it was permitted, and the soldiers discovered a more ardent zeal in the goodness of the cause, from the presence of their sovereign, and it was discovered that the soldiers had marked an R, under the crown, upon their arms, the committee of State and Kirk were thrown into the greatest alarm, and exclaimed, “that the quarrel was changed, and the cause of God neglected.” Nor would they rest satisfied till the King had returned from his command, which he had no sooner done, than all malignants were ordered to retire—a circumstance which despoiled the army of three thousand of its best men. Nor was this all; for when the same loyal party, with a zeal and courage almost incredible, offered to be placed in the front of the army, and to lead the van against Cromwell, they were refused—the Ministers declaring against it, and comparing the sin of malignancy to the sin against the Holy Ghost. They ventured so far as to assert that their forces, thus purged, were invincible; and, that “with an army of saints they could not be beaten.” To such a degree were they infatuated and prepared for punishment!

Nor was this all: they were determined that the King should speak the same language as themselves, as if the will and conscience could be

SECTION

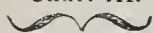
IV.

CHAP. III.



SECTION coerced into an acquiescence with sentiments  
 IV. repugnant to the dictates of the understanding.

CHAP. III.



They prepared a declaration of the most unreasonable and arbitrary description, in which the King was made to inveigh against the blood-guiltiness of his father and the idolatry of his mother—to acknowledge his own sins and the sins of his father's house—to account all those his enemies who opposed the Covenant—to express his abhorrence against all popery, superstition, and prelacy—to resolve not to tolerate them in any part of his dominions, to declare that he had now found mercy to be on the Lord's side, and that, for the future, he would do nothing without the advice of the Kirk and State. It is almost impossible to say which preponderated, the weakness, absurdity, and tyranny of the Covenanters, in insisting upon such a declaration, or the want of principle in the Monarch in subscribing it. Its extravagance was, certainly, calculated, to lead the King to regard it as an insane production, and that his subscription was as unmeaning as its contents.

Battle of  
Dunbar.

In the meantime, Cromwell found it impossible, in the heart of the enemy's country, any longer to maintain his position; and, on Saturday, the thirty-first of August, he drew his forces out of their quarters, his ships weighing anchor at the same time, with the design of reaching Dunbar, and there embarking his troops. The Scotch followed with a very superior army. The next



day, they had the fairest opportunity of cutting off the retreat of the English; but the Committee and Ministers, who accompanied the Scotch camp, would not allow their soldiers to engage on the Lord's day. Cromwell, therefore, reached Dunbar, but he was so hemmed in on all sides, that his destruction appeared inevitable. And the Committee persuading themselves that Cromwell must surrender at discretion, and, being as they said, "certain of a dry victory on the succeeding day," would not permit an attack to be made. The night that intervened was dark, rainy and tempestuous. Cromwell employed the time in refreshing his men and protecting his match-locks from the damp and rain. The Scots, on the contrary, were secure and careless—a circumstance not unobserved by Cromwell—and of which he determined to take advantage. In the morning, which was the third of September, he led out a strong party of horse, and falling on the enemy's horse guards, obliged them to retire. Whatever might have been his design before, he now determined to strike for victory. He immediately brought up his main bodies of horse and foot; and with very little resistance took the Scots cannon, and entered their camp. A dreadful struggle ensued. But it was brief. The Scots fled in every direction. Confusion and terror everywhere prevailed. The Angel of destruction must have preceded the English army: for the

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.



SECTION IV. slaughter was incredible. Three thousand lay  
 CHAP. III. dead on the field, and nine thousand were taken  
 prisoners—a number which exceeded that of the  
 whole English army, who only lost three hundred men! A victory in which the hand of God was as manifest as in the triumphs of Poitiers and Cressy.

The King was greatly benefited by this defeat, and was treated with greater respect and indulgence. A Parliament was even called, which by bringing many of the malignant party into the councils of the nation, greatly increased the King's authority and influence; and enabled the Legislature to abolish many obnoxious acts, and to introduce others which tended to strengthen the King's interest among all ranks of people.

Meanwhile, Cromwell held Edinburgh as a conqueror; subdued all the southern fortresses of Scotland, and, with incredible industry and genius, pursued the siege of Edinburgh Castle, the glory of Scotland, and which had never yet surrendered to an enemy. But the day of vengeance was come, and it was doomed to fall. After incessant efforts of skill and bravery, he took it by open assault, on the twenty-fourth of December.

The coronation. Notwithstanding these warlike transactions, preparations were made for the King's coronation, which was performed with great solemnity, on the first of January, in the Abbey of Scone. He was



also appointed to the command of the army; and everything promised a propitious result. But it was otherwise. The King was deeply affected by the death of his sister, the Princess Elizabeth, who had succeeded her father as prisoner, in Carisbrook Castle, where she mourned over the unhappy fate of her parent, and pined away till she followed him to the grave—"Where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest." But a still heavier blow awaited him, in the death of the Prince of Orange, his only ally, adviser, and friend. The Prince died of the small pox, a few days before the birth of his son, who was destined to act such a conspicuous part in the History of England.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. III.

Nor must we, in this place, omit the death of that celebrated Prelate, who, again and again, would have saved his country had his advice been followed—Williams Archbishop of York. The resources of his genius continued with him to the last: for, perceiving the approach of death, and having no Presbyter near him, to administer to him the sacred rites of the church, he ordained an honest and pious servant who had attended him, for that purpose.

Death of  
Archbishop  
Williams.

The preparations in Scotland were now in a great state of forwardness; and the King erected the royal standard at Aberdeen; and, from thence marched to Stirling, at the head of a well-provided and superior army. Cromwell, with his



SECTION usual rapidity, followed upon the King's march,  
 IV. and having reconnoitered his camp, which he  
 CHAP. III. found too well fortified to attack, he pursued his  
 career northward, securing every garrison as he  
 advanced, as far as Saint Johnston, which he  
 reduced in one day.

This advance of the English General induced the King to change his Counsels; and, instead of waiting for an opportunity of engaging the enemy, he determined to attempt an inroad into England; in which he was encouraged by the assurances of attachment, and promises of support, which he received from all parts. Expresses were immediately sent, to give his friends the necessary information; and, especially, to the Isle of Man, where the Earl of Derby had secured himself since the termination of the late war.

The King  
 enters Eng-  
 land.  
 A. D. 1651.

On the thirty-first of July, he broke up his camp at Stirling, and directed his march towards Carlisle, with an army of sixteen thousand men; a force which, with the aid he might justly expect in England, must have secured a speedy triumph, had it not been the just purpose of God, to punish the perfidy of the Scottish nation. Nothing, indeed, can be more clearly indicated than the retribution of a divine Power, inasmuch as the ruin of the expedition must again be attributed to the blindness and fanatical zeal of the Committee of Ministers, who attended, and, even directed, the motions of the army.



On their arrival at Carlisle, the King despatch-  
ed General Massey, with some detachments of  
Cavalry, to give notice of his arrival; and to  
summon the royalists to his standard. This was  
a necessary and prudent measure; and the fact,  
that General Massey was a Presbyterian, was  
sufficient to give confidence to that party. But  
the Committue of Ministers, perceiving as they  
imagined, less regard for the Covenant, in the  
King and his officers, on this side the Tweed,  
sent an express after the General, in which they  
required him to publish the declaration before  
spoken of, "which testified the zeal of the King  
and the whole army, for the Covenant, and their  
resolution to prosecute the true intent of it." In  
vain did the King countermand their orders, the  
royal party everywhere took alarm; and instead  
of joining the royal army fled from their houses  
in dismay.

The King, however, pursued his march, and on  
the twenty-second of August entered Worcester;  
where he was joined by many of the chief Nobility  
and Gentry. But, whilst everything bore the  
most flourishing appearance, and, persons of the  
first consequence were daily flocking to his stand-  
ard, he received the tidings of the defeat of the  
Earl of Derby, who had set out on the first sum-  
mons, at the head of a valiant band of fifteen  
hundred men. He was met, near Wigan, by a  
superior force, under Colonel Lilburne: his new

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.



SECTION raised forces were put to flight, many persons of  
 IV. quality perished, and he himself, narrowly escaped  
 CHAP. III. and joined the King at Worcester.

Battle of Worcester. Meanwhile, on the news of the King's arrival, the Oligarchy, at Westminster, were thrown into consternation, and, at the first moment of alarm, thought of nothing but their own personal safety. But their fears and preparations were unnecessary. In three days, Cromwell appeared before Worcester with an army of thirty thousand men, whilst that of the King's was only about twelve thousand. Many skirmishes took place between the King's forces and different parties of the enemy, with various success. But the fatal day, at last, arrived. On the morning of the third of September, the King had led out his infantry to attack Cromwell, who lay at Perrywood, and himself with great gallantry headed the charge. The battle was contested, for three or four hours, with great obstinacy. On the first onset, the invincible life guards of Cromwell were thrown into great disorder. The King performed prodigies of valour, and during the conflict had two horses shot under him. But he was ill-supported by General Lesley with the horse; and, fresh troops pouring in at every advance, his forces reduced to a mere wreck, were put to flight, whilst he himself, with great difficulty, was persuaded to leave the field.

His retreat, however, was at length secured by the Earl of Cleveland and some others, who



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

rallying the dispersed soldiers gave a check to the enemy as they were entering the city gate. The King was, at that time, among the combatants on foot; but after many ineffectual efforts to rally his troops, being provided with a horse, he escaped by the opposite gate. Four thousand men were slain in the battle: and seven thousand of the Scots were taken prisoners. Many persons of rank perished; and amongst the rest the Duke of Hamilton, who, by his faithful and gallant conduct, had endeavoured to wipe off some portion of the disgrace which had rested upon the reputation of his brother.

This dreadful overthrow in which all was lost, was considered decisive; and it seemed, to all human appearance, as if the the Royal party had received its final blow from which it could never recover. But the Almighty Ruler had other purposes in view; and England was still, to be an EXEMPLAR STATE, and give law to an extensive empire. A few years was to unfold the divine economy. All that had been intended by this expedition was accomplished. The Scots had brought upon themselves a just chastisement. The King was again to retire. The principles of the monarchy were for a season to be suspended. An opportunity was given to the present democratic and sectarian innovation to unfold its real character and tendency: the inveterate prejudices of fanaticism were to be beaten down—the whole



SECTION anarchical movement was to be restrained and  
IV. modified, and to work out, at a more distant period,  
CHAP. III. the purposes of the DIVINE BENEVOLENCE.

The King's flight and his final escape from his enemies, is amongst the marvellous records of History. It was ten o'clock in the evening, when he left Worcester, by Saint Martin's gate, attended by a few Noblemen, and, about fifty Horse, with the intention of retreating to Scotland. But they had not reached Kidderminster before it became dark; and their guide declared himself to be at a stand. The King asked if there was no place at hand where he could have a few hours rest. The question brought to the recollection of the Earl of Derby, a person of the name of Penderell, who had befriended him in his late flight from the battle of Wigan. There was not much time for deliberation, and the party directed their flight towards the borders of Shropshire; and arrived at "Whiteladies," about three o'clock in the morning, when the Earl of Derby sent for William Penderell, to whom he recommended the care of the King's person. No sooner was the King, placed in security, than the Lords who accompanied him, took their departure. But they had not proceeded far, before they were overtaken by a party of Cromwell's army. They made a brave resistance: but were finally overpowered. The Duke of Buckingham, the Lords Levingston and Talbot, fortunately escaped; but the Earl of



Derby and the Lord Lauderdale, were taken prisoners. The former was conveyed to Chester, where he was tried by a junto of officers, treated with great inhumanity, and beheaded at his own county town of Bolton, in Lancashire; and the latter, was detained for many years a prisoner in Windsor Castle. Whilst General Lesley himself, with the remnant of the Scotch army, had scarcely advanced beyond Newport, when he was surrounded by his pursuers; and all his men dispersed or taken prisoners.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. III.

The King, soon after the departure of his Nobles, left Whiteladies in disguise for Boscobel House—a mansion, at a short distance, situated in the midst of a beautiful and retired grove—but at that time only inhabited by William Penderell and his wife. His removal from Whiteladies was seasonable; for immediately after, it was entered and searched by a troop of soldiers, under Colonel Ashenhurst. In this retreat the King spent his time chiefly in the wood adjoining, as being more secure than the house. He was attended by his friend, Colonel Carlis, whilst William Penderell and his four loyal brothers, stationed themselves in different parts of the wood, and acted as sentinels. It was in this wood, that the King and his companion found concealment in a large and thickly foliaged oak, from whence they could discern various parties engaged in searching for the King, and could even hear their discourse. This noble

The King's  
escape.



SECTION tree, for affording security at such a perilous  
IV. season to the Monarch, was afterwards called the

CHAP. III.

ROYAL OAK.

The Scots  
sold for slaves.

Whilst the King was sustaining the hardships of his condition, at Boscobel, with incomparable patience, Cromwell, directed his march southward, driving before him three thousand unfortunate Scots as prisoners, the greater part of whom were, afterwards, sold as slaves into the British plantations in America. He entered London in triumph, and was received both by the city and Parliament with marks of distinguished honour, and a pension of £6,000, was awarded to him. But his ambition was not to be satisfied with a pension, nor to be controlled by a Parliament which he had created and supported. From the moment of his victory, which he considered his "crowning mercy," his character rapidly developed. He first ascertained the sentiments of his companions in arms, with respect to the future Government of the nation. And then, by the most artful policy, he induced the Commons to come to a popular vote, that the present Parliament should not continue beyond the third of November, 1654. From that moment the Commons sunk into neglect, and Cromwell was made supreme; and, every succeeding day unfolded his design of securing to himself an undivided power.

Scotland still  
suffers.

Nor had he yet done with Scotland, which was doomed to be reduced to the most degraded con-



dition, and united to England, as a conquered Province. Major General Monk, who had been left as Commander-in-Chief in that country, acted up to the letter of his instructions. The magnificent castle and town of Stirling, in which were found all the ancient treasures of the monarchy and the records of the kingdom, was seized in defiance of the lofty boast which King James had inscribed upon its walls: “HÆC NOBIS INVICTA TULERUNT CENTUM SEX PROAVI.” Dundee was taken by storm. St. Andrews, Dumbarton, and others, soon after followed; and the whole kingdom was subdued, even to the Isles of Orkney and Shetland. New Judicatories and Courts of Justice were opened. Meetings were called in every county, and the inhabitants were made to subscribe a renunciation of the King, and declare their submission to the English Commonwealth. The use of arms was denied them, and even of horses, except for the most necessary purposes. Their Kirk was despised and insulted; and their “Covenant” neglected and trampled under foot: and, last of all, which never happens, except in the last stage of the most abject slavery, the sacred records of the nation were removed from their ancient repositories, and sent off to the city of their conquerors. Whilst, to make the hand of Heaven manifest in their humiliation, when, in after times these records were sent back, the ship in which they were conveyed was lost by shipwreck!

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. III.

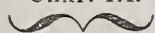
Degradation  
of Scotland.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.



Death of Ire-  
ton.

At the same time, the conquest of Ireland was completed by General Ireton. But his own days were numbered; and the avenger himself, in the midst of his career of blood and slaughter, was cut off from the earth. He had just executed his vengeance on the town of Limerick, when he was seized with the plague, and died in the most fearful manner, crying out in his delirium, "I will have more blood! blood! blood!" Thus perished this wicked and audacious regicide, originally intended for the law—a man of a fierce and sanguinary disposition, and such a determined republican, that his removal was a necessary step to the advancement of Cromwell.

War with  
Holland.

Other nations, who had been accessory to the English rebellion, were now, in their turn, to feel the ungovernable fury of the Regicides. The Oligarchy at Westminster, observing, with jealousy, the prosperity of the rival republic of Holland, sent an ambassador to the States, to establish a treaty of commerce; but their demands were too preposterous to be entertained for a moment. The Parliament immediately passed an act to inhibit all foreign ships from bringing merchandise into England, except the produce of their own country. This was total destruction to the interest of the States; and they made preparations for a war which they saw to be inevitable.

This war was very unpopular with Cromwell, who saw the danger to be apprehended to his own



power, should the Parliament once establish for themselves a victorious and dependent power in the navy. But the time to act was not yet arrived, and, for the present, he concealed his uneasiness.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

Meanwhile the King, who had left his retreat at Boscobel, had travelled, during the space of forty-one days, in various disguises, with great pain and fatigue, more than three hundred miles. He had traversed the country from Worcester to Bristol, and from thence to Shoreham, in Sussex ; where, after a variety of the most extraordinary escapes, he embarked on the thirteenth of October, and arrived safely at Feschamp, in Normandy.

The King  
escapes.

The navies of the contending powers were already in motion ; and the King, who was then in Paris, gallantly offered to attend the Dutch Admiral on board his fleet ; but the trading and cautious policy of the Dutch, who were anxious for nothing so much as peace, prevented them from accepting his offer. The first encounter was off the coast of Scotland, in which Admiral Blake triumphed over the enemy's line of battle ships, and carried off the fishing flotilla, which they were stationed to guard : whilst Sir George Aiscough, returning from the conquest of Barbadoes, was sent with thirty ships to the westward, where, on the twentieth of August, near Plymouth, he fell in with and attacked the whole Dutch fleet, under De Ruyter, when they were again discomfited ; but the majority of their ships



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

Naval en-  
gagement.

escaped, on account of the injuries which the sails and tackling of the English ships had received in the action: the Dutch Admiral Van Tromp having retired, he was succeeded by De Wit, in commission with De Ruyter. Nor was it long before Blake came up with them, off the coast of Kent, when a dreadful battle ensued, in which the English had the advantage, and pursued the remnant of their shattered fleet within a few miles of their own coast. But their damages were soon repaired; for being reinforced from Denmark, they put to sea once more, with eighty ships of war, under their celebrated Admiral Van Tromp. But Blake, with an heroic courage which did not ask how many, but where his enemies were, bore down upon them off the Goodwin Sands, with forty ships of the line. The battle raged from two o'clock in the afternoon till six at night. The two Admirals exerted all their courage and dexterity. The English fought with their usual intrepidity, and took and destroyed six of their ships, yet the superior numbers of the Dutch prevailed; and the whole English fleet must have been in great danger, had not the night been favourable to their retreat. Whilst the two naval Commanders were preparing for future action, Cromwell was pursuing his great design; and, in order to facilitate his future aggrandisement, he caused the Duke of Gloucester, who had been confined in Carisbrook Castle, to be set at liberty. He



was conveyed to Dunkirk, with two attendants; from whence he proceeded to Paris, where he was received by his mother and brothers with the liveliest demonstrations of joy. The Parliament were no less assiduous in strengthening their supposed interest. The fleet was repaired and increased at vast expense, and with great zeal and industry. Great encouragements were held out to the sailors; and Dean and Monk were put in commission with Admiral Blake. Nor were the Dutch behind. Early in February, an express was sent to their Admiral, at Rhee, to blockade the Thames, in order that their merchant ships might put to sea. But to their amazement, the English Admirals were already at sea, with eighty ships of war; and on the eighteenth of February intercepted the Dutch fleet, consisting of seventy-six ships, with a convoy of three hundred merchantmen.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. III.

The battle became general about ten o'clock in the forenoon. The combatants thought of nothing but death or victory; and it was fought with desperate valour on both sides, till the darkness of night compelled them to desist. Never was a watery field more obstinately contended. Havoc, and ruin, and carnage, attended the mighty struggle; and the rocky heights on both sides of the channel were shaken with the thunders of their cannon. The slain was equal on both sides; but Van Tromp having lost eleven men of war, thirty

Naval engagement.



SECTION IV. merchantmen, and fifteen thousand prisoners, was forced to retire; but for two days, driving his merchantmen before him, he sustained the incessant attacks of the English, till he reached the sands of Calais, where, favoured by the tide, he drifted to his own shores.

Cromwell, and the Fifth Monarchy. The States of Holland were deeply afflicted with the news of this terrible defeat; and sent letters to the English Parliament, with a design of putting an end to these unprofitable and bloody contests. But the Parliament, who were becoming formidable by their success, refused to listen to their representations, although seconded by all the interest of Cromwell, who now saw that the time was come to destroy the power which he himself had established. He again sounded his friends and adherents as to their views of the Government; but found, in all, the same determined opposition, and the establishment of a Republic seemed to be inevitable. But Cromwell was not intimidated. His great difficulty was with the army, and some of its leading officers. Their unbridled licentiousness had passed through every stage of "levelling" and "modelling" into the wildest fanaticism. They now denominated themselves "Fifth Monarchy Men," and Colonel Harrison, who has already been before the reader, was at the head of this sect, which approved of no government, except where Christ was to rule and exercise dominion by his saints. Cromwell,



with his usual dissimulation, pretended to enter fully into their views, and declared that it was his design to prepare the way for the reign of the Messiah ! The Parliament was fully aware of these proceedings, and used every precaution to avoid the impending blow : but in vain. On the tenth of April, Cromwell entered the House with a file of musqueteers, to put an end to their deliberations. He dismissed the Members with insults and reproaches ; and, locking the doors, returned to his apartments at Whitehall. Thus perished, for a time, the miserable remnant of the LONG PARLIAMENT, after it had conducted the nation through every stage of political iniquity, civil contention, and slaughter ; and delivered the people, whose liberties they had usurped, and whose resources they had embezzled, into the hands of a tyrant ; and they were now driven from their usurpation with dishonour, and without regret. They had run a long and varied course ; nor yet in vain. They had abolished all the remnants of ancient and feudal times, and made room, at a future period, for the growth and perfection of the British Constitution, and the advance of the British Empire.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

Never did the Usurper discover his sagacity more than at this juncture. Ardently as he longed for the sovereign authority, he would not run the risk of losing the glittering prize by too hasty a seizure of it. In conformity with the fanatical

Cromwell's  
policy.  
A. D. 1653.



SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. opinions of the army, he determined to assemble a Parliament exactly of the character indicated by Colonel Harrison.

The fanatical  
Parliament.

On their assembling at Westminster, amongst many other things in unison with their ideas of Government, he told them that he had not made choice of one person, in whom he had not this good hope, “that there was faith in Jesus Christ, and love unto all his saints and people.” After exhorting them to “use with tenderness all conscientious people,” he devolved upon them, by a written instrument, the supreme authority of the Commonwealth.

Such was the beginning of this unhappy Parliament; and every day only served to exhibit their mad folly, and to expose them to the contempt and execration of their fellow citizens. Labouring, as they did, under a false impression, and deluded into the vain belief, that they were the predestined agents for the establishment of the kingdom of the Son of God upon earth, they discovered all that vain consequence, and rash presumption, which such a delusion was likely to create in such ignoble minds. In them was exhibited the “ne plus ultra” of fanaticism, affording a salutary lesson, to all future posterity, of the evils to be apprehended from breaking down the long-established and reasonable boundaries of Religion, and yielding to the impulses of a disordered imagination. One example must suffice



to shew the extent of their absurd pretensions. SECTION  
 —The Dutch war had been carried on with great IV.  
 vigour, and two great and decisive victories had CHAP. III.  
 been achieved by General Monk, against all their celebrated Admirals.\* In the last engagement, which was fought with desperate valour, off the coast of Flanders, the brave Van Tromp was slain—an irreparable loss to the Dutch, who now earnestly sued for peace. But the English Parliament was inexorable, except on conditions exactly in accordance with their own vain pretensions. In their answer, they stated, “that the Dutch were carnal and worldly-minded politicians—enemies to the kingdom of Christ; and such as would, upon all occasions, retard the progress of the saints and people of God in overturning the powers of the world. That Antichrist, the man of sin, could never be destroyed, in Italy, whilst the Dutch retained any considerable strength in the Netherlands. They did not insist upon the flag, or the dominion of the sea; but held it necessary, in order to the coming of Christ and his personal reign, that the seas should be scoured, and kept as peaceably as the land, and that both ought jointly to submit to the power of King Jesus—that the Dutch ought to kiss the Son, lest he be angry—and should take care how

\* With these naval victories, Cromwell had nothing to do; and it ought to be remembered that they were achieved by those very ships built by the late King, out of the revenue furnished by the ship-money!



SECTION they contemned his “holy ones, lest they be  
IV. chastised with a rod of iron.”

CHAP. III.  


The Dutch, who came to negotiate with England, and not with the “Fifth Monarchy,” were astounded at these lofty pretensions. In vain did they urge their zeal and sincere affection for the true reformed Religion—all their arguments were ineffectual; and, in order to save their country from extirpation, they determined to strengthen themselves by foreign alliances. But their deliverance was nearer than they expected. Cromwell saw that the moment for him to act was arrived: he entered into a treaty with the Dutch Plenipotentiaries, in which they agreed to assist him against all his foreign and domestic foes, whilst he engaged to strip the saints of the power with which he had invested them.

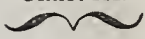
The fanatical  
Parliament  
dismissed.

Accordingly, on the twelfth of December, he sent Colonel White, with a file of musqueteers, who very unceremoniously dismissed these infatuated men, after they had sat as a Parliament for five months and eight days. Their dismissal was followed by a resolution of the Council of State, that the government of the kingdom should be vested in a single person, and that OLIVER CROMWELL should be raised to that dignity, under the style and title of LORD PROTECTOR of the Commonwealth of England. The nation, torn in pieces with its dissensions, and broken down with so many usurpations, was obliged to submit in



silence. Cromwell lost not a moment, but proceeded to his inauguration; which was performed, with great pomp and magnificence, in Westminster Hall. A Council was appointed. The power of the sword was vested in the Protector, jointly with the Parliament, when sitting; or, if not, with the Council. He was obliged to summon a Parliament once every three years, and to allow them to sit five months without adjournment; and a standing army was to be allowed of thirty thousand men. The Protector was to enjoy his office for life; and, on his death, his place was to be supplied by the Council. But all this was a dead letter, except the standing army, which was sufficient to answer the Usurper's purpose.

No sooner was Oliver Cromwell seated in the chair of sovereignty, than ambassadors arrived from many of the potentates of Europe. Amongst the ambassadors who crouched at the feet of the Usurper, the representative of the French King urged the claims of his master in the most flattering terms, and expressed the personal respect of the French monarch for "His Highness," in a eulogy which might have suited the most heroic and virtuous of Kings.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. III.  
  
Base flattery  
of the French  
King.  
A. D. 1654.

But the people of England who felt the yoke of the oppressor could not be deceived. Arbitrary measures which are but the play-things of Princes; and, with them, spring from the wantonness of power, in the hands of a Usurper like



SECTION IV. Cromwell, were the necessary instruments of government. All parties alike felt the weight of

CHAP. III.  


his restoring hands. Presbyterians, Levellers, and Royalists, all felt that they had a MASTER. Ordinances were promulgated, declaring what was high treason against the State and Protector; and the "High Court of Justice," which had been so successfully employed under the Long Parliament, was again opened. Nor were these unmeaning forms. Mr. Gerard, a person of noble family, and a Mr. Vowell, a person of great excellence and learning, were both executed for a conversation which was reported to have taken place between them in a tavern. But which, at the place of execution they both denied, and, died with a Christian patience and heroism, equal to any of the worthies which had preceded

Death of Sir  
H. Vane.

them. Very different was the end of Sir H. Vane, senior, who died at this time despised and rejected of all men, nor by any, more than his own son by whom he had been seduced and betrayed.

New Parlia-  
ment

The time was now approaching when, according to "the instrument of Government," the Protector must convene Parliament; and every effort was made to secure the return of such members as should be most obsequious to his wishes. But it was a difficult task. On the fourth of September this new Parliament was opened, on which occasion, Cromwell proceeded to Westminster, in great state and splendour. Lenthall was chosen



speaker; and, no sooner had the Protector left the house than they began to dispute the authority by which they were assembled. The few members of the "Long Parliament" who had been re-elected, still animated with the principle of contradiction, contended that that was the only assembly, duly elected, and which had been unlawfully dismissed.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. III.

For several days, the debates ran high, in favour of Republicanism and a Commonwealth, in which Bradshaw, Lord Grey of Groby, and Hazlerigg signalized themselves. But they had forgotten that they were no longer members of the Long Parliament; and their master thought it high time to interfere, and put an end to their disputes. Having stationed a guard at the door of the House, he ordered the members to attend him in the Painted Chamber, when he sharply rebuked them for their "heats and divisions," and laid before them, a recognition of the Government by a single person and a Parliament, which he obliged them to subscribe. The members who would not sign this instrument he not only excluded from their seats; but, sent the more refractory to prison, amongst whom was Colonel Harrison, his late Prime Minister and associate. The majority of the members acceded to his terms. But nothing was done by this Parliament; and at the end of the period indicated by the instrument of government they were despatched by

Rebuked by  
Cromwell.



SECTION the Protector, with every epithet of disgust and  
 IV. contumely.

CHAP. III.

His pride and haughtiness, on this occasion, filled the minds of all men with resentment. Republicans and Royalists were equally indignant; and nothing was heard of, but plots and conspiracies against the life of the Usurper. But he had still a great work to perform, which no man living was so well-fitted to accomplish as himself—to bring back the tone of the public mind, to destroy the spirit of Republicanism and to prepare the people, by a strict discipline, however unjustly administered, for the return of their legitimate monarchy.

Whilst preparations were thus making for this auspicious event, the King, driven by political interest from one kingdom to another, at length found a generous asylum at Cologne\* where he took up his residence. He sustained his adverse fortune with becoming fortitude, and regulated the expenses of his household with great prudence and economy, on six hundred pistoles a month. Sir Stephen Fox was his comptroller, and had the management of his affairs; and, Lord Clarendon bestows great commendation on that gentleman: but he was so far from taking the whole credit to himself, that he shewed a paper of accompts

\* An ancient and celebrated town in Germany. It is seated on the river Rhine, and is a free imperial city, having a seat and a voice at the Diet of the Empire and circle of the lower Rhine.



written in the King's own hand, to Mr. Echard, and told him that he was the best economist he ever knew. Whilst at Cologne, he spent a great part of his time in reading and study; nor must it be omitted that at this period, he discovered a steady and unwavering attachment to the Protestant religion. The Duke of Gloucester was, then, at Paris; and every effort was made to induce the young Prince to give up his religious principles: but he still remembered the dying injunctions of his father, and resisted all the promises of his mother, and all the arguments and exhortations of the Abbot Montague, who had been appointed his tutor. They had recourse even to rigour and severity. The King heard of this with great concern, and sent the Marquis of Ormond, with an express command, to bring the young Prince to him, a commission which he executed at great hazard to his own person and through almost insurmountable difficulties. But how unstable is man! a short time after this, the King himself fell into the snare, and, secretly, became what his brother the Duke of York, afterwards avowed himself to be—a Romanist; whilst the Duke of Gloucester alone died in the Protestant faith! But the King's repose and comparative enjoyment at Cologne was unseasonably interrupted by the impatient zeal of his subjects in England, who were ashamed of their abject condition; and stimulated to resistance, by the over-

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

The King's  
conduct.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

The insurrec-  
tion of  
A. D. 1655.

bearing insolence of the Usurper. Daily communications were sent to Cologne, in which they exaggerated their own strength; and under-rated that of their enemies. The King, for some time, repressed their ardour, and laid his commands upon them not to attempt any rash enterprize, which could only terminate in the destruction of more of his loyal subjects. But, at length, worn out with their importunities he gave his permission for an insurrection, which was appointed to take place on a certain day, Wilmot, now Earl of Rochester, generously offered his services and was sent over, together with Sir John Wagstaff, to bring the project to maturity. The King himself repaired to Flushing, that he might be nearer to the scene of action. But the hour of his deliverance was not yet arrived, nor, were the minds of the people of England sufficiently restored for his return. The insurrection entirely failed. The royalists, who engaged in it, were treated with great severity. But the leaders of the revolt fortunately escaped; Penrudduck and Grove, were the only persons of condition who were executed.

But Cromwell did not fail to improve his success: and laid heavy contributions on the Presbyterians and Levellers, whom he suspected to be indisposed to his government; but the Cavaliers felt his severest displeasure; and were made to pay into the public treasury one tenth of their whole estate. But still he found the minds of



men refractory; and, to bring the whole nation into entire subjection, he resolved upon an extraordinary expedient. He divided the counties into provinces, and constituted twelve persons, in whom he had the greatest confidence, to the office of Prefects, whom he denominated "Major Generals." Their authority in their several provinces was absolute. It was in their power to send for, and examine all suspected persons—to levy all public monies, to sequester the estates of all who refused to pay their decimations. Nay, their inquiries extended to all private assemblies, and to persons who lived at too high a rate for their apparent means! With the Major Generals were associated "Assessors," whose province it was, to inquire into, and inform against all persons who might be obnoxious to their tribunal. Besides this, they possessed a military jurisdiction, and, had a kind of provincial militia, who were enlisted and called out under their authority. It is almost impossible to conceive a more arbitrary or coercive system, nor is it possible to describe the intolerable evils to which the people were subjected by the rigorous exactions and unparalleled cruelty of these authorities. But whilst Cromwell was making use of these tyrannical methods, solely for the purpose of securing himself in the Seat of Power—it is manifest to the most superficial observer, that means less stringent would not have been sufficient to restore the disordered

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

Establish-  
ment of arbi-  
trary power.  
A. D. 1655.



SECTION elements of society; and, prepare them, by a

IV.

CHAP. III.



a severe discipline, for again taking their place under a well-regulated government. Yet it was a desperate remedy; and, of necessity, the minds of all men were filled with hatred, disgust, and indignation, against their oppressor. And it must not be omitted, as affording a useful lesson to all innovators, that the haughty and implacable Lord Say, defeated in all his grand projects, and stung with remorse, retired to the Isle of Lundy, off the north of Devonshire, where with a band of retainers, he maintained himself a voluntary prisoner till the death of the Usurper.

Cromwell as-  
sists the Pro-  
testants in Sa-  
voy.

Nor was it the unquiet and licentious spirits of this country only, that felt the power of his restraining hand. The Duke of Savoy, at the instigation of the Pope, and the Princes of Italy, had undertaken a crusade against the Piedmontese Protestants, in the valley of Lucerne. The Duke having defeated them, with great slaughter, drove them from their dwellings into the mountains, where they were exposed to every extremity of cold and hunger. The Protestant Princes very generally, interfered: but Cromwell proclaimed a solemn fast; caused large contributions to be made, and, through his influence with the Cardinal of France, obliged the Duke of Savoy to restore all he had taken, and to re-establish the Piedmontese in all their privileges. The Pope himself was terrified at his threatening—"That



his ships in the Mediterranean should visit Civita Vechia and the sound of his cannon should be heard at Rome.”

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

Conquest of  
Jamaica.  
A. D. 1656.

The fleet being now at liberty, the Protector fitted out two powerful armaments: one, under Admiral Blake, against the Algerine pirates; and the other under Penn and Venables, against the Island of Hispaniola. The former Admiral conducted his mission with great courage and success: but the two latter, having encountered great hardships, were repulsed, but they made themselves masters of Jamaica; a conquest so lightly esteemed at that time, that the two Admirals were committed to the tower, on account of their failure in the principal object of their expedition.

During this year, two individuals died whose memories it would be ungrateful not to record. The first, was that great and excellent man James Duke of Richmond; who had never once deviated from the path of honour and loyalty; and, after having seen his three brothers fall in the royal cause, himself died of a broken heart. The next was Dr. James Usher, the glory of his country, both for learning and piety. His christian charity and meekness, disarmed all his enemies. He displayed his great attainments, in many noble treatises, and, was invited by Cardinal Richelieu and other eminent foreigners, to repair into their countries. Even Cromwell was overawed by his excellence, shewed him some particular marks of

Deaths of the  
Duke of Rich-  
mond and  
Archbishop  
Usher.



SECTION his respect, and, after his death, was at the charge  
 IV. of a public funeral.

CHAP. III.  
 War with  
 Spain.

The wanton aggression of Cromwell on the Spanish colonies, provoked that nation to declare war against England. But Cromwell, who was now absolute, entered into alliance with France, stipulating to send three thousand men to be placed under the celebrated Turenne, on condition that Dunkirk and Mardyke, when taken, should be placed in his hands.

Admirals, Blake and Montague, were sent to blockade the port of Cadiz, and to intercept the Plate fleet. Most of the Spanish ships were lost or burnt in the conflict, and the Admiral returned to Portsmouth, with the Marquis of Badajoz as prisoner, and bullion, to the amount of two millions. Cromwell to increase the eclat of this exploit caused it to be conveyed to London in waggons.

The Protector was now in the zenith of his glory and prosperity. He caused justice to flow in an uninterrupted stream through the kingdom, excepting where his own person was concerned. Property became secure. Trade began to flourish, and the arts of peace to be cultivated.

Cromwell's  
 policy. As to religion, whilst he favoured the Independents, he allowed a private toleration to all, taking the greatest pleasure in humbling the Presbyterians, who, at this period learnt a lesson which they have not yet forgotten. Nor did he



spare any pains to render himself popular. He entertained the active and gay with raillery and jesting, hunting and hawking. The “godly” with prayers and expositions of scripture. His officers with frolic and gambol. He turned all men to his purposes, and had the most perfect intelligence of all things transacted, both in his own and all foreign courts; and, it is said, that in this system of espionage he expended £300,000 a year.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

How long the Protector might have continued in the quiet possession of his authority, had he not, himself, interrupted it, it is impossible to say. But his ambition was not yet satisfied with the possession of royal authority. He aspired to the title of King.

His ambition.

For this purpose he determined to assemble a new Parliament; and as a preparatory step, he summoned before him as many as he knew most disaffected to his design. Amongst these, were the notorious Bradshaw, and, the no less notorious Sir H. Vane, the latter of whom he sent a prisoner, as if to demonstrate the hand of a retributory Providence, to Carisbrook Castle! Every effort was made, through the instrumentality of the “Major Generals” to influence the electors; and, to obtain full security for their conduct, no person was admitted into the House, who did not receive a “ticket of admission” from the council of State. This Parliament fully answered the

Parliament  
assembled.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

Makes an  
offer of the  
crown.

expectations of the Protector—granted him large supplies and abolished the power of the Major Generals, whose authority was no longer necessary to his purposes; and, to crown the whole, after a long debate, made him a formal offer of the crown, in which, before the whole nation they made this remarkable declaration, recommending “The title and office of a King as settled here with Christianity, in itself approved and retained by our ancestors, and every way fitted to the laws and temper of the people of England.”

Notwithstanding, he was disappointed in the attainment of his grand object; and every step he took, was overruled by the high Providence of Heaven, to prepare the way for the establishment of the ancient monarchy. Indeed, all the transactions connected with this vain-glorious attempt, are striking and instructive. A committee was appointed, consisting of the principal regicides and republicans, to argue in favour of the measure, before Cromwell, which they did for two days in the most elaborate manner! But the proposition was violently opposed by Lambert and the principal officers of the army—a circumstance which would not have deterred the Usurper from his enterprize, had it not been for the obstinate manner in which it was resisted by those whom he loved. His son-in-law Fleetwood, and his brother Desborough, plainly assured him that if he assumed the title of King he would be assassinated.



On the eighth of May, the Protector sent a message to the House to meet him in the Banqueting Hall. On this occasion, his looks were discomposed, his whole frame appeared to be agitated; whilst with great difficulty, he composed himself to speak, and, in faltering terms he declined the honour which was the great object of his ambition. His guardian genius seemed to forsake him and yield him up to the insulted spirit of the King. The whole scene argued the expiration of his power; and his refusal seemed an immediate act of Heaven, predictive of the restoration of the legitimate and banished monarch.

The Protectorship was re-established by a new instrument of government, in which, his powers were greatly enlarged and his inauguration solemnized in Westminster Abbey with great pomp and magnificence, at which, the Earl of Warwick, Whitelock, and Widdrington the speaker, principally officiated. The two former invested him with a gorgeous purple robe of velvet lined with ermine, whilst the speaker said: "It was an emblem of magistracy and imported righteousness and justice." After which, seated in a chair of state, the bible, sceptre and sword, were each presented to him with an appropriate speech; nothing was wanting but the crown and an Archbishop, and, to conclude the ceremonial, an oath was administered to him to govern the kingdom according to law.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

Cromwell's  
forced refusal.  
A. D. 1657.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

Exploits of  
Admiral Blake.

His charac-  
ter.

Whilst these things were transacting on land the indefatigable Blake was pursuing his conquests by sea. He had rode out all the winter storms before Cadiz, and receiving certain intelligence of the Plate fleet, he weighed anchor with twenty-five sail of the line, and on the twentieth of April appeared in the offing, off the harbour of Sante Cruz.\* The Galleons had already arrived to the number of sixteen men of war. The Bay was secured by a strong castle and seven forts, all united by a line of ramparts. The difficulty and danger of cutting out the fleet were extreme: but nothing could daunt the courage of Blake and his associates. The conflict was tremendous and lasted several hours, and ended in the total destruction of the Spanish fleet. But it was the last action of the English Admiral. He returned to England in triumph, but worn out with his unparalleled labours, he died as his fleet entered Plymouth sound. He was a man of a patriotic and independent spirit. He was not actuated by the fluctuating politics of the period, nor followed the interest of the predominating party on shore, but sought to sustain the honour of his country, and the British empire of the sea. It was his constant argument and theme, amongst his seamen, "That they should not listen to any news from land, nor mind the changes in government;

\* Island of Teneriffe.



but remember, that the fleet was English and their enemies foreigners.”

The tide of affairs began now rapidly to advance. The King immediately after the declaration of war with Spain, removed from Cologne, and took up his residence at Bruges,\* in a style more suited to his royal dignity. It was at this period, on the death of Sir Edward Herbert, that Lord Edward Hyde was appointed Lord High Chancellor, and took charge of the great seal, “which the King had, up to that time, kept in his own possession.”

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. III.  
Hyde made  
Lord Chancellor.

Cromwell, in the mean time, pursued his design of aggrandizing himself and his family; but, in reality, of preparing the way for the King's return, to which every transaction tended. His Parliament met again on the twentieth of January, the authority and dignity of which he had confirmed and adorned by the formation of a House of Peers, which he had summoned by writ according to the ancient custom of the Kings of England. Mr. St. John who had, throughout, followed the fortunes of Cromwell, and was termed his “dark lantern” was elected a member of this august House; but Lenthall was overlooked, an omission which it is said nearly broke his heart. Cromwell, however, in pity, favoured him with a writ of summons.

Cromwell  
prepares the  
way for the  
King's return.

\* A city of the Austrian Netherlands.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.



Cromwell's  
pride.

On the opening of Parliament, the Protector proceeded in state to the House of Peers; and, having summoned the Commons to the bar, he formally addressed them in the usual monarchical style. But in the midst of his ungovernable pride, he had omitted to fill up in the Commons, the places of those whom he had elevated to the Peerage, or to take any precautions against the admission of those members whom he had formerly excluded. In consequence of this oversight, the Commons became quite ungovernable: they inveighed against the authority of the House of Peers, and even complained of the Protector for taking upon him such an unwarrantable power as that of appointing them. Cromwell was filled with alarm and indignation, because he was not without his suspicions that the countenance of the army had some share in the insolent demeanour of the Commons. His vigilance however, never slumbered. He inspected the watch himself for several nights; and found it necessary, in order to save his House of Peers, to dissolve the Commons. He communicated his design to Fleetwood who strongly dissuaded him; but laying his hand upon his breast, in his usual vehement manner, "he swore by the living God he would do it."

His alarms.

But it was the expiring effort of his authority. He had re-established the sovereign power in a single person—he had beaten down the hopes of



all vain pretenders, both in religion and politics —he had even with incredible industry restored the semblance of a House of Peers, and having prepared the way for the return of a regular government, he was shorn of his strength and deserted by the genius which had sustained and impelled him. He became sullen and dejected, and filled with those direful apprehensions, which at length overtake the guilty. He became difficult of access, suspicious of all who approached him—wore armour under his clothes—was armed with pistols and daggers—travelled with great rapidity—never returned by the same way that he went, and never slept, in any room which had not secret doors, which were always guarded by armed servants. His fears became known to the public, and emboldened the disaffected to enter upon new plots for his destruction. He was particularly affected by a powerful pamphlet entitled “Killing no Murder.”\* All humanity was now banished from his character, and lashed by the furies of a disturbed conscience, he determined still further to wash his hands in the blood of the innocent; and, once more, called into existence the “High Court of Justice.” Before this tribunal, he brought Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. Hewet, men of the highest character and reputation, who were condemned and executed with

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

\* Written, as was afterwards well known, by a Captain Titus.



SECTION many others, under every circumstance of severity and cruelty.

IV.

CHAP. III.

All classes of men were now united against him; and, perhaps, the most remarkable document of these times, is an address of the sectaries to the King, which shewed how rapidly the tide of affairs was now setting in towards its ancient limits.\*

The King  
reduced to de-  
spair.

The King himself had left Bruges for Brussels, on finding that the Spanish alliance afforded him little assistance, especially since the taking of Dunkirk by the French, which, by stipulation had been delivered into the hands of Cromwell. All human aid appeared now to fail him, and France and Spain, after a war of thirty years, had now entered into a treaty of peace. But, at this juncture, when his cause seemed utterly hopeless, the Arbiter of human affairs, by a series of extraordinary changes, was preparing the way for his return to the throne of his fathers. Would that his conduct had been worthy of the prosperity which awaited him!

Cromwell's  
decline.

The first notice of this important event was the decline of Cromwell's health, whose days were numbered. To the restless and tormenting disquietude of his mind, were added the most harassing domestic affliction. The Earl of Warwick who had married his daughter, died: the Earl of Felconbridge who had married his other daughter,

\* Preserved in Clarendon's History.



was opposed to his opinions and interest. But it was the death of his favourite daughter, Mrs. Claypole, that entirely overwhelmed him. She was a zealous royalist, and, on her death-bed, represented to him in terms which filled him with grief and remorse, the heinousness of the crimes of which he had been guilty. From that time he was never seen to smile; and, about the middle of August, he was seized with a slow fever, which degenerated into a tertian ague. For some days, the disorder appeared in no degree formidable; and, every alternate day, he walked out in the garden at Hampton Court. But one day, after dinner, whilst his five physicians were present, one of them feeling his pulse, remarked "*that it intermitted.*" It was the announcement of the awful summons of death, he started and turned pale, and being seized with a cold sweat, he ordered himself to be conveyed to bed. The blow was so sudden and unexpected that his chaplains and domestics could not believe, that their potent master, who was the idol of their fanatical attachment and imaginary hopes could die the common death of all men. The next morning, when one of his physician's waited upon the Protector, with sadness depicted in his countenance, the Protector said: "Ye physicians think I shall die; but I tell you I shall not die this bout, I am sure on't." Such was also the promises of all around him: for, the same physician, as he retired, meet-

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

His sickness.



SECTION IV.  
 CHAP. III.

ing an acquaintance expressed some fear respecting the Protector. "You are certainly a stranger," replied the other, "to this house. Don't you know what was done last night? the chaplains and all that are dear to God, dispersed in several parts of the palace, have prayed to God for his health, and all have brought this answer that HE SHALL RECOVER." Nay, to that extreme of folly was their enthusiasm carried, that having appointed a solemn fast through the household, they did not so much pray for his health, as thank God for the undoubted pledges of his recovery. But the Almighty fiat proceeded to its accomplishment. The dying man, labouring under the same visionary impressions as his deluded chaplains and friends, was conveyed to Whitehall: on which occasion, Doctor Goodwin in his prayers, gave utterance to such sentiments as ought to prove a warning to blind and erring mortals of the matchless folly and presumption of setting up their prejudices as the measure of the divine procedure. "They asked not," he said, "for his life, for they were assured He had too great things for this man to do to remove him yet; but they prayed for his *speedy* recovery, because his life and presence were so necessary to divers things, then of great moment to be dispatched."

Presumption  
 of his Chap-  
 lain.

Sustained by the false security supplied by these flattering suggestions, the expiring Usurper



expressed no remorse at the remembrance of the crimes through which he had waded to his “bad pre-eminence;” but sheltered himself still more in the abstract dogmas of that theology, which was in a great measure, the foundation of all this delusion and impiety. Instead of a practical inquiry into his conduct as a christian, the only inquiry which at this awful moment, occurred to the Protector to make, was, “whether a man could fall from grace?” which, being answered by Doctor Goodwin in the negative, he replied: “Then I am safe, for I am sure I was once in a state of grace.” On such fallacious grounds, after a career of the most consummate hypocrisy, falsehood, cruelty, murder, ambition and pride, did this Arch-Usurper without remorse, without compunction, without repentance, satisfy himself of the truth of his christian principles, and assure himself of a blessed immortality. But in defiance of the predictions of his chaplains—his final hour was now fast approaching; and he was about to pass away to that tribunal, where the crudities of an unauthorised system could have no influence upon his condition, where he would be adjudged by the purity of his motives and the holiness of his life, as the necessary results of the justifying faith of Christ—a tribunal where by his “words he would be justified,” or by his “words condemned.” Matt. xii. 37. He died on Friday the third of September, at three o’clock in the afternoon—a

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

His own delusions.



SECTION day which he always considered as most propitious  
 IV. to him, and on which, two of his great victories,  
 CHAP. III. Dunbar and Worcester had been achieved.

The news of his death was instantly conveyed to the conclave of his parasites who, were thrown into the greatest consternation. “Be not troubled” cried Mr. Peter Sterry, “this is good news; because if he was of great use to the people of God when he was among us, now he will be much more so, being ascended to Heaven at the right hand of Jesus Christ, there, to intercede for us, and to be mindful of us on all occasions.”

and his death.  
 A. D. 1658.

Thus died Oliver Cromwell, as he had lived, amidst folly, presumption, and blasphemy.

His ostenta-  
 tious funeral

The most extensive preparations were made for his funeral, which was solemnized, on a scale of magnificence, such as was never surpassed in the funeral rites of any sovereign that ever lived—but solemnized over an empty coffin! For, as if to manifest the displeasure of Heaven, and to rob his flatterers of the object of their idolatry—the body, although artificially embowelled, embalmed with aromatic spices, wrapt in six-fold cerecloth, and placed in a wooden coffin lined with lead, after an unusual manner burst all in pieces, and became so unsufferably noisome, that they were under the necessity of, instantly, consigning it to the earth—so that, whilst his deluded followers were expending vast sums of money upon the empty pageantry of a magnificent funeral,



he was doomed to an ignoble grave, and buried, to use the emphatic language of Scripture “with the burial of an ass.”

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

Richard  
Cromwell suc-  
ceeds.

At this moment of time, nothing appeared more improbable than the restoration of the exiled Monarch. Every employment, every place of trust and power were in the hands of his inveterate opposers. The army was entirely at their command; and they were all sworn to resist the pretensions of “CHARLES STUART:” and, to shew how entirely this was the case, and how universal the subjection of the people, the eldest son of the Protector was proclaimed his successor, without the slightest opposition. Nay, addresses of congratulation poured in from every city and county of the kingdom, and nothing appeared more firm than the Sovereignty of RICHARD CROMWELL. He not only received the homage and congratulations of the army and the people at home: but foreign Potentates, by their envoys, admitted his title and recognized his authority; and every circumstance connected with his succession seemed to promise him a long and uninterrupted rule. But firmly established as his power seemed to be, it was doomed to be shattered without a blow, and all its fragments so entirely scattered and dispersed, that not a shred of it should be found, to say, that it ever existed.

The son had not the sagacity, nor the hypocrisy, nor the arts of management, possessed by his



SECTION father; and was so far unfitted to secure himself  
 IV. in the giddy eminence to which he was raised.

CHAP. III.

He was neither a military man, nor a statesman. He inherited neither the political, or religious views of his father, and, instead of adhering, in every particular, to the existing system, and symbolizing with the Independent party and its heterogeneous and fanatic train, he discovered his predilection for the Presbyterians. This was enough. The Independents were filled with jealousy and revenge. The flame of discord was kindled and spread in wild confusion throughout the land. These two great factions once more prepared to contend for the Sovereign power, whilst the cavaliers, astonished at the sudden strife, remained silent spectators of the scene. The contest was to end in the discomfiture of both; and, in such a remarkable manner, that their destruction must be attributed to a Divine hand. It was not to be by might or power—not a drop of blood was to be shed, scarcely, a sword to be drawn. But it was to be silent and complete, by the force of circumstances which no human power could direct or control. They attracted each other like two angry and portentous clouds, charged with thunders and death; but in the concussion—without ignition, without noise—they were scattered and dispersed into empty air.

The Inde-  
pendents dis-  
satisfied.

Parliament  
assembled.

A. D. 1659.

N. S.

In order to settle the high differences which prevailed, the Protector assembled a Parliament.



Their first subject of inquiry was the question of government. The most furious debates ensued.

SECTION IV.

CHAP. III.

The Independents and republican party, with Sir H. Vane at their head, vehemently opposed the presbyterian party, who espoused the part of the Protector. The Royalists so far from taking any share in the debates, withdrew from the House.

The army was still more divided. But the prevailing party was for a military republic, at the head of which, were Fleetwood and Desborough, the brother-in-law and uncle of the Protector.

The army intrigues

This party, consisting of a council of officers, with Sir H. Vane, Hazlerigg, and, wonderful to be spoken! the learned Doctor Owen, met at Wallingford-House. They instantly perceived that the voice of Parliament was against them, and would be an insurmountable obstacle in their way. They determined therefore, if possible, to induce the Protector to dissolve it. This was the critical moment of the young Protector's career. His friends saw the time was come to strike a decisive blow; and they advised him to oppose, by force, the dictation of the Wallingford-House party. But it was not in his disposition. He dissolved the Parliament; and from that moment, his power and authority were no more.

The supreme direction of affairs was once more in the hands of the army; but to save appearances, they determined to assemble that portion of the "Long Parliament" which had been re-

and assembles the "Long Parliament."



SECTION IV. deduced by "the engagement," to the lowest dregs of fanaticism, republicanism, and independency.

CHAP. III.

They met to the number of forty-two members, and miserable as the remnant was, yet they saw that their authority was a shadow, unless they could subject the military to the civil power. To facilitate this object, they had recourse to an ingenious stratagem, and appointed Lenthall, their Speaker, Commander-in-chief of all the forces; and ordered, that all Commissions in the army should proceed from him, under their seal. But the military council at Wallingford-House, had no intention of parting with their authority; and determined, at the first opportunity, to rescue themselves from such ignominious domination. Nor was it long before the occasion was supplied.

The King  
and the Royal-  
ists.

On the death of Cromwell, the King had removed from Brussels, and repaired to Calais, in order to encourage and direct the movements of his adherents, in England; and after the downfall of Richard Cromwell, the Royalists were roused to action, and a day was appointed, under a commission, for a general rising in all the counties of England. But formidable as the insurrection really was, every movement was attended with defeat and disappointment. It was only in Cheshire, under Sir G. Booth, that the arms of the Royalists met with any success. But this was sufficient to alarm the Parliament; and, as Lenthall, the Commander-in-chief, had never drawn



a sword, it was necessary to make choice of a General for the occasion. Through the intrigues of Sir H. Vane, and Sir A. Hazlerigg, Lambert was selected. His work was short, the Royalists were utterly defeated, and their leader committed to the Tower.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

It was at this juncture that the King, reduced to despair, at the hopeless condition of his affairs, resolved to throw himself into the hands of the French and Spaniards. For this purpose he determined to repair to the scene of the "Pyrenean treaty" which was then transacting at Fontarabia, a small town on the borders of Spain, where the two Prime Ministers of France and Spain had repaired, with a numerous and splendid train. In this adventurous journey, incognito, and without a passport, the King was attended by the Marquis of Ormond, the Earl of Prescot, and Daniel O'Neale. His Majesty was received by the Spanish Minister, Don Lewis de Haro, with every demonstration of sincerity and attachment. But the wily cardinal would not admit him to an interview, but amused him with obscure promises of assistance, taking care to insinuate to Don Lewis "that it was time for all catholics to unite to destroy the heretical party, rather than to strengthen it by restoring the King of England, except he would become Catholic."\* The hint was not lost. The King who had once been made

The King in  
despair.

\* Echard chap. III. p. 751.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

Abjures his  
religion.

to violate his conscience by the Scots, in favour of their "League and Covenant," now thought it no impiety to violate all the solemn obligations he was under to the memory of his father, and the religion of his country. Before the high altar of the church of Fontarabia, the unfortunate Monarch abjured the Holy Catholic faith, which had been rescued at immense sacrifice, from the thralldom of popish intolerance and superstition; and for the sake of a corruptible crown, bartered away the incorruptible treasures of divine truth.

Ambition of  
Lambert.

But whilst the King was thus renouncing his religion, and bringing down upon himself the divine displeasure, which manifested itself in frustrating all his expectations from this alliance, and in the speedy expulsion of his family from the throne of England—every event that occurred was preparing the way for his immediate RESTORATION. General Lambert, as we have noticed, had triumphed over the adherents of the King, and had given, as it was thought, a death blow to the royal party: but this very triumph laid the foundation for their ultimate success. The conqueror, flushed with victory, and, at the head of his old comrades, rushed to secure for himself the sovereign power. But he could not proceed in his designs without awakening the jealousy of the Parliament, which, after passing many resolutions, and cutting off the sources of their pay, proceeded to cashier several of the officers, and amongst the rest Lam-



bert himself. This step brought the matter to a crisis. The General, after the example of his master, resolved to dissolve the Parliament, and the Parliament determined to defend their authority to the last. For this purpose, they ordered several regiments to assemble and march, immediately, to their assistance. But Lambert in true Cromwellian style, was beforehand, and with his army, blocked up all the avenues to the House; and, when Lenthall, the Speaker, arrived with his guards, he politely told him that he might return, as there was no further business to be transacted. Resistance was in vain; and before night, the whole army was obsequious to his commands.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

The army was again in the ascendant, and a council of officers assembled to adopt some measures for the administration of affairs. They found no difficulty in distributing the offices of the army; but the Parliament had cut off their resources, and to meet this difficulty, they were under the necessity of appointing a council consisting of twenty-three persons, which they denominated the "COMMITTEE OF SAFETY."

The "Committee of Safety" appointed.

Scarcely had the new Governors begun to exercise their self-invested functions, and were preparing to commence another reign of oppression and fanaticism, when their leaders, Fleetwood and Lambert, were surprised with letters from General Monk, who commanded the army in Scotland, upbraiding them with the violation of their pub-

General Monk appears.



SECTION lic trust, and stating his resolution to see the

IV. Parliament reinstated in their full authority and

CHAP. III.

freedom. Startled at this unexpected interference, they despatched General Lambert with a very superior force, to watch the motions of General Monk, whilst they entered into a negotiation with him. In this they were infatuated. Had Lambert been directed to advance immediately against their rival, his handful of men could not have withstood the numerous and well-disciplined army under Lambert; and their power must have been established. But an overruling power conducted their counsels. Lambert took up his quarters at Newcastle, all anxiety for action, and Monk prolonged the time by sending Commissioners to Westminster to treat with the "Committee of Safety."

Character of Doubts have been entertained of the sincerity  
General Monk. of this celebrated man, who was destined to be the restorer of the British monarchy—and justly. For, neither his virtue nor loyalty were proof against temptation. His vigour of mind—his courage, and military talent were indisputable, and to these great qualities he added a reserve and firmness of purpose which fitted him for the accomplishment of great enterprizes. At the commencement of the Parliamentary war, he favoured the royal cause, but he was taken prisoner in the skirmish of Nantwich, and was, for some time, in confinement. It does not appear how he ob-



tained the confidence of Cromwell; but he certainly made himself useful to the Usurper, and was his chief instrument in the subjection of Scotland, where, by his judicious management, he made himself agreeable to the people. It is certain that Cromwell, whilst he trusted him with his confidence, always suspected him of favouring the royal cause. But, whatever designs he may have entertained during the tyranny of Cromwell, on the abdication of his son Richard, he resolved to act a decided part. But what is truly remarkable, on the defeat of Sir G. Booth, he was on the point of relinquishing his purpose, and actually sent a letter to the Speaker, in which he resigned his commission, with one proviso, that he should not read it to the House till the expiration of ten days, before which time the Parliament was dissolved!—a circumstance which he could not have foreseen, and upon which, all that followed was suspended.

There is every reason to believe that at this point of time, General Monk was sincere in his intention of serving the King; and, whilst he instructed his commissioners to prolong the treaty, he made use of every means which could secure success to his enterprize. He entered into a communication with the navy, and with influential individuals in all parts of the kingdom—new-modelled his army, obtained supplies from a convention of the states of Scotland; and declared

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

He declares  
for the Parlia-  
ment.



SECTION his intention of restoring the Parliament. His  
 IV. army was very inferior to Lambert's ; but, relying  
 CHAP. III. upon the treaty, he began his march from Scot-  
 land. He had not advanced far, before he was  
 mortified with the intelligence, that his Commis-  
 sioners had suddenly concluded the treaty. He  
 led his army back to Edinburgh ; and, was again  
 on the point of relinquishing his enterprize in  
 despair. At this critical juncture, he was induced  
 to try the temper of his troops, and finding them  
 ready to live and die with him, he was encouraged  
 to reject the articles upon which his Commission-  
 ers had agreed. A crisis now approached ; and  
 a contest between him and Lambert seemed in-  
 evitable. But there was no contest. For at the  
 same moment, Lord Fairfax,\* the fleet, and the  
 town and fortress of Portsmouth, declared for the  
 Parliament ; and, upon the strength of these de-  
 monstrations, Lenthall and his compeers resumed  
 their places at Westminster. Many of the soldiers  
 of Lambert deserted to their old General, and the  
 remainder were distributed in different parts of the  
 kingdom, by orders from the restored Parliament,  
 whilst Lambert himself was taken prisoner and  
 committed to the Tower. The way was now  
 open ; and General Monk entered England on the  
 first of January ; and, without interruption, pur-  
 sued his march towards London.

Lord Fairfax  
 joins with him.

\* The great Parliamentary General, who had long seen his error, and lived in great retirement at Nun-Appleton, near York.



But a serious difficulty was yet to be obviated. When he arrived at Saint Albans, he found there were twelve regiments of the old army stationed at Westminster and the parts adjoining, which constituted a force very superior to his own; and, sufficient, at one blow, to dash all his projects to the ground. In this perplexity, he addressed a letter to the Parliament, stating his apprehensions respecting the fidelity of the troops who had once deserted them, lest they should not live peaceably with his men who had always stood by them and secured their return to power. It was a critical moment. The Parliament deliberated—hesitated—were infatuated, and dismissed ten of their regiments to more distant quarters. The General entered London, in triumph, on the third of February: and his first care, was to assure the Parliament of his fidelity, and his resolution to uphold the freedom of their debates. For some time, he dissembled, and submitted to their dictation; but, at length, he issued a declaration, in which he insisted upon their filling up all the vacant places in the House, within seven days; and, after that, he ordered them to fix a day, for their dissolution and calling a free Parliament. This declaration was dispersed through the city and country, and produced such universal joy, that nothing was heard but cries of “a free Parliament!” the ringing of bells—firing of guns, and one continual blaze of lights and bon-fires. This

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

General Monk  
enters London.  
A. D. 1660.  
N. S.



SECTION exhibition of the public mind sealed the fate of  
 IV. the "Long Parliament," which having issued writs  
 CHAP. III. for a free Parliament, was dissolved after having  
 been the scourge of the nation for nineteen years!

The difficul-  
 ties of the Ge-  
 neral.

During the time which intervened, before the new Parliament could be assembled, the General experienced every difficulty, and was assaulted by every temptation which could shake the constancy and try the virtue of human nature. He conversed and consulted with all ranks of men, in order to ascertain their opinions, but covered his own designs with an impenetrable veil of silence ---a line of conduct which had great influence on the restoration, because it prevented any premature attempt on the part of the King's friends; which might have thrown all things into confusion. It is however, stated on the authority of Mr. Locke, that the virtue of the General was overcome, by the representations of the French Cardinal Mazarine, who, with treachery and duplicity, almost incredible, after he had ensnared the young Monarch by his promises, made unlimited offers of assistance to General Monk, if he would seize for himself the sovereignty of England. But the wily Frenchman was not to succeed. The wife of the General overheard the conversation between the General and the Envoy of Mazarine; and gave immediate information to Sir Anthony Astley Cooper, one of the members of the Council



of state, who took such measures as effectually frustrated their designs.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. III.

Whatever selfishness or ambition might previously have lurked in the heart of the General—from this time he was straight-forward and sincere in his intention of restoring the King, which he discovered to be inevitable. He now granted an interview to Sir John Grenville, who, like himself, had kept his mission inviolably secret, and absolutely refused to give up his instructions to the General's secretary and confident, Mr. Morrice, a gentleman to whose prudence and loyalty, his country is much indebted. In this interview, Sir John commenced the conference by expressing his deep acknowledgments "to the General for affording him an opportunity of discharging a trust of such great importance both to himself and the whole kingdom"—at the same instant, producing a letter from the King, and also the commission which he had from his Majesty to treat with him. The General taking the paper stepped back, and, with a frowning look, demanded "how he dared to speak to him on such a matter, without considering the danger he had hazarded?" Sir John answered, that he had well considered the danger, but that whatever it might be, it was not sufficient to deter him from the performance of his duty. Upon which, the General embraced him and commended him for his prudence, fidelity, and constancy. "I hope the King will forgive

His interview  
with Sir John  
Grenville.



SECTION IV. CHAP. III. what is past, according to the terms of his gracious letter; and you shall assure the King that I am not only ready to obey his commands, but to sacrifice my all to his service." The sincerity of the General was now manifest; for, retiring, he left Sir John in conference with Mr. Morrice to make all necessary arrangements for the King's return; and when the notes of their conference were submitted to him, they met with his entire approval, and Sir John Grenville departed in the beginning of April.

Lambert escapes from the Tower.

But whilst the King's answer, containing the necessary declarations and papers were preparing the whole plan of the restoration was on the point of being frustrated. Through the insinuations of the discarded members of the Long Parliament, all those persons who were implicated in the late King's death were thrown into despair, the soldiers of the old army were filled with the most unreasonable jealousies, and roused into mutiny and rebellion. At this moment too, Lambert escaped from the Tower, and hastened, immediately, to place himself at the head of his old comrades to prepare for mortal combat. But before he could assemble all his forces, he was pursued, and taken without a blow; as if Providence had determined that all opposition should melt away without effort, and that the glorious Restoration should take place without the shedding of blood.



On the long, anxiously expected day, the “Free Parliament” assembled, and they immediately began to review the state of the nation, and bitterly to reprobate the conduct of the “Long Parliament,” and the tyranny of Cromwell; but no man, during the first days of their debate, however loyally inclined, dared to mention the name of the King. But, on the first of May, the General perceiving the favourable disposition of the House, resolved, at once to open to them the momentous subject of his negotiation with the King; and rising up in his place, he said: “that one Sir John Grenville, who was a servant of the King’s, had brought him a letter from his Majesty, which he held in his hand; but which he would not presume to read without their direction;” and informed them, that the same gentlemen was in attendance with a letter to the House. This announcement was received with general acclamation; and, Sir John being called to the bar, said, “that he was commanded by the King, his master, with whom he had lately been at Breda, to present that letter to the House;” and delivering it into the hands, of the Sergeant, he withdrew.

The King’s letter, and his “DECLARATION,” which was drawn up with consummate prudence, gave unbounded satisfaction to the House. A torrent of joy spread through the whole kingdom. The House penetrated with gratitude, immediately voted a subsidy of £50,000 to the King, £10,000

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

Monk presents the King’s letter.

Joy of the nation.



SECTION to the Duke of York, and £5,000 to the Duke  
 IV. of Gloucester ; and hastened to draw up an answer  
 CHAP. III. to his Majesty's declaration, with a solemn invitation to return to his native dominions.

During these transactions in England, the King remained at Breda, but in the beginning of May he left that place for Rotterdam. He was received at the Hague, with lively demonstrations of joy, and entertained with great magnificence and hospitality ; nor was it many days before Admiral Montague appeared off Scheveling, with the English fleet, when the Duke of York went on board, as Lord High Admiral, and was received with all duty and submission. The remainder of the fleet soon followed, bringing the Parliamentary Commissioners who were sent to invite the King to take possession of the throne of his ancestors. Lord Fairfax was particularly distinguished and received his Majesty's gracious pardon. The city of London were foremost with handsome presents, to testify their returning loyalty and affection. The Presbyterian ministers repenting, long ago, of their egregious folly waited upon the King, with assurances of their loyalty and attachment ; whilst hosts of Royalists hailing the fulfilment of their long cherished hopes and prayers, repaired to the sister shore to congratulate their Sovereign on this happy change in his affairs.



On the twenty-fourth of May, the King having taken leave of the states, departed from the Hague and embarked on board the *Naseby*.\* Every circumstance was favourable to the splendour of the scene. The sky was clear, the sea calm; and, his Majesty mounting the stern, and looking round was received with the acclamation of multitudes of people, who covered the downs, the sand-hills, and shores. Shortly after, he took an affectionate leave of his nephew, the Prince of Orange, and of his aunt, the Queen of Bohemia; but it was with great difficulty that he could be separated from his beloved sister, the Princess Royal. That matchless lady, who had borne all her sorrows with an invincible patience and a lofty magnanimity, and which enabled her to be the support and consolation of her royal brothers, during their long exile—could now, scarcely, with constancy, support this sudden change in their fortune. But, the anchors being weighed, amidst the thunders of the surrounding cannon, they left this friendly shore; and, in two days, moored safely under the white cliffs of their native land.

During this time, the Parliament and city were busily employed in making the most honourable preparations for his return. Suitable to the King's "declaration" a general act of pardon was prepared, from which, those alone were excepted

\* Which, on that occasion, received the name of the "Royal Charles."

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

Departure of  
the King from  
Holland.



SECTION IV. who were, immediately, concerned in the death of the late King. Such, indeed, was the general joy that all might have escaped. Such, the extravagant transports of the Royalists, that they broke out into a kind of phrensy, which could not be restrained for many days; and such was the eagerness and impatience of all men, that vast multitudes flocked from London, and crowded all the heights along the Kentish coast, to catch the first glimpse of those propitious sails, which were wafting home the desire of the nation.

The King's  
arrival.

A. D. 1660.

It was on the twenty-fifth of May, that the fleet arrived at Dover. The King was conducted on shore by Sir John Talbot, who was the first man he knighted in England. General Monk stood ready to receive him; and conducted him under a canopy of state, to his carriage which waited at some distance. A great concourse of the nobility awaited his arrival at Canterbury, and where General Monk and Mr. Maurice were sworn of his Privy Council: the latter gentleman, was also knighted and appointed Secretary of State. The Sunday was spent at Canterbury. The next day, he proceeded to Rochester, and, on Monday being the twenty-ninth of May, and, his birth-day, he entered London in the most splendid procession that was ever seen in that city. The ways were strewn with flowers—the streets were lined with tapestry—the conduits flowed with wine; and, such were the multitudes of spectators, that it



seemed as if the population of the three kingdoms had been congregated into one place. The night was turned into day, and the heaven itself was irradiated with the splendour of the overjoyed city. It was one continued jubilee, for many days, and, perhaps a nation never experienced such a joyful and exhilarating triumph—a triumph which was brought about by the interposition of heaven without suffering, oppression, or, bloodshed.

SECTION


IV.

CHAP. III.

Nor was the Monarch unworthy of these demonstrations of public joy. He was thirty years of age, rather above the middle stature, and of a grave and majestic aspect. His manners were easy and graceful; and, wherever he appeared, he won the respect and affection of all who beheld him. He was possessed of a vivacious wit, a delicate apprehension, and an excellent understanding. His natural endowments were improved and adorned by study. He had acquired great skill in the modern languages and mathematics; and his mind was stored with those moral virtues, which, if they had continued, would have proved a perpetual source of happiness to himself and his country. He was conspicuous, at this time, for his moderation, clemency, justice, and temperance. Oaths and drunkenness were strange vices to him. In fine, he had acquired so much experience, from the variety of his own and his father's troubles, that he brought with him all the presages of a happy and well-conducted reign.

Character of  
the King.



SECTION But it was otherwise. All his splendid virtues  
 IV. were eclipsed by his relegation from principle. He  
 CHAP. III. had, in an unhappy hour, sold himself to expedi-  
 ciency. He had apostatized from the holy religion of his father, and, thus laid the foundation for the deterioration of his character which rapidly followed, and of innumerable evils to his country, and, at last, to the expulsion of his family from the throne!

Formation of  
 a Ministry. The machinery of the government was quietly and judiciously arranged. Sir Edward Hyde, created Earl of Clarendon, was continued Lord High Chancellor. The Lord Southampton, Lord High Treasurer. The Marquis of Ormond made an English Earl, and, afterwards a Duke, Lord Steward of the Household. The Lord Say was made Privy Seal, and the Earl of Manchester, Chamberlain of the Household. General Monk was created Duke of Albemarle, and Admiral Montague, Earl of Sandwich. Sir Edward Nicolas and Sir W. Maurice, were appointed Secretaries of State.

The three friends Clarendon, Southampton, and Albemarle, were the chief instruments in restoring to order the distracted affairs of the kingdom, and of giving stability to the institutions of their country. The Earl of Clarendon was at the helm; and was, manifestly, the instrument of God at this important period, and gifted with extraordinary powers. He was a man of great abilities, exten-



sive acquirements, and mature experience. He was a profound legal scholar—an elegant writer, and a finished statesman. And, to render him as complete as possible for his high station, his mind was imbued with lofty sentiments and adorned with the highest moral qualifications; and, it is difficult to say, in which of these excellences he excelled—in integrity, fidelity, or patriotism.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

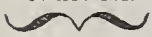
The “Convention Parliament” instructed by the late calamities of the nation, had applied themselves with great industry and prudence towards the settlement of the kingdom, and, a bill was immediately passed constituting them a legal Parliament. A general act of pardon, indemnity, and oblivion, through the urgency of the King, quickly followed; nor, was he wanting in all those demonstrations of virtue and prudence which rendered him deservedly glorious in the esteem of all sober and moderate men. In this bill the judges who sat at the trial of the late King, and indeed, all who were immediately instrumental in procuring his death were excluded, and from a clemency which we are constrained to admire, Sir H. Vane, Colonel Lambert, and Sir A. Hazzlerigg, were excepted as to their lives. But the last mentioned had, already, run his race. He was seized with fever, and died in prison at the time the bill was pending; nor did the other two escape the retribution which their crimes deserved. Ten of the most violent Regicides perished on the

The act of  
oblivion.



SECTION scaffold, affording a melancholy picture of human  
 IV. nature, hurried away and infatuated by fanaticism.

CHAP. III.



Various acts suited to the exigency of the times followed in quick succession. All judicial proceedings, in law, and equity, which had taken place since the first of May, sixteen hundred and forty-two, were confirmed. The revenues of the crown settled. Shipping and navigation regulated: and the army disbanded.

Presbyterians  
 offered preferment.

These preliminary steps being taken, the state of the church demanded the attention of the King and his Ministers, and required in its re-construction, the exercise of all their wisdom and prudence. Nor were they wanting. The King determined to act upon the most liberal principles. Immediately on his return, in order, if possible, to reconcile all parties, he had appointed certain Presbyterian ministers to be his chaplains, and several of their number were now offered the highest preferment. To Mr. Baxter, the Bishopric of Hereford, to Mr. Calamy, the Bishopric of Lichfield and Coventry, and to Dr. Manton, the Deanery of Rochester; but, unfortunately at present, none of them would accept of the King except Dr. Reynolds, who was appointed Bishop of Norwich:—whilst a declaration on the subject of union in religion was now published, which, for its moderation and prudence will bear comparison with any document of any age, or, country.



In the meantime, the Bishops that survived, were restored to their dioceses. Seven others were consecrated, and the excellent Doctor Juxon, whose character has long been before the reader, was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. III.

But in the midst of these happy prospects, the popish influence began to operate on the affairs of the kingdom, and the “little black cloud” appeared, which, at no distant time, was to deluge the nation with storm and tempest. The Queen mother arrived laden with political stratagems, under the tutelage of the Cardinal Mazarine, who, contrary to all the stipulations of the “Pyrenean treaty” was again plotting against the crown of Spain: but the upright Clarendon was in her way, and she did not scruple to make use of all her influence to induce her son, to discharge his faithful minister. For the present, she did not prevail. But her visit laid the foundation for future evil. The public joy was also darkened by the death of the Princess of Orange, the King’s sister, who followed her illustrious brother the Duke of Gloucester, at the distance of a few months, to an early grave. She was a Princess of admirable understanding and virtue, and, must ever hold a distinguished place in the annals of our country, as the mother of William III who, at the time of her death, was only ten years of age.

A fatal influence prevails.

The acts of peace and regular government began to revive; the post office had been established



SECTION by the "Convention Parliament," and the "Royal  
 IV. Society" was now instituted under the most en-  
 CHAP. III. couraging auspices.

Fanatical in-  
 surrection.

But during this state of tranquillity, the dregs of the late fanatical fury, like the unwholesome humours of a diseased body, were coming to a head; and, at length, burst out into a virulent and blasphemous excitement, which ended in open insurrection. The deluded people broke forth from a conventicle in Coleman-street, where they had assembled, and declared that they took up arms for King Jesus, against the powers of the earth; vainly relying, on the declaration of holy writ, that "no weapon formed against them should prosper." It is impossible, in few words, to describe the wild fury of these enthusiasts. They fought with desperate ferocity, but, in spite of their vain-glorious boast, they perished miserably, by the swords of the life guards, or the axe of the executioner; nor, were these mad proceedings without an injurious effect on the public mind; as they tended to revive the remembrance of the late sectarian *crisis*.

The coronation which was solemnized with the greatest magnificence, was followed by the appointment of a synod of divines for the settlement of the church. Unfortunately, the prejudices of both parties ran high. The Bishops had too much reason to remember the ill-advised and rebellious conduct of the Presbyters in the late transactions;



nor, did they at the present crisis, manifest any symptoms of repentance, moderation, or humility. Mr. Baxter, a Presbyterian of considerable name, added nothing to his reputation in this synod. He displayed a great ignorance of antiquity—discovered an untutored and illogical head, and manifested great conceit of his own abilities. The book of common prayer underwent a rigid examination. Many exceptions were made by the Presbyterian Divines; and when the alterations and amendments thus suggested by them, were committed to Mr. Baxter for the purpose of drawing them up for presentation to the Bishops, he rejected them altogether, and drew up an entire new formulary, which he designated the “Reformed Liturgy.” This rash and presumptuous act, gave just offence to the eminent episcopal divines who composed the synod. The work itself, which its ill-judging author intended to supersede the “Book of Common Prayer” possesses little merit, and sinks into utter insignificance when compared with that simple and dignified,—that brief and comprehensive,—that devout and sublime formulary composed by Saints and Martyrs after the best models of antiquity, and which is designed, we cannot doubt, in the providence of God, to hold a distinguished place in the prayers and praises of the Reformed Catholic Church, through succeeding ages.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

Synod of  
Divines.  
A. D. 1661.



SECTION IV. I see little reason to enter further into the detail of this discussion. The topics, were much the same as had occupied the attention of the same classes of disputants in the reign of James I; and the conference ended by the synod coming to the following resolution: "That the welfare of the unity and peace of the church, were *ends* upon which they were all agreed; but as to the means they could not come to any accommodation."

CHAP. III.

The Scotch  
"Covenant"  
meets its fate.

Meanwhile, the new Parliament had assembled. The greatest harmony and unanimity prevailed; and the Commons, as if by a preparation for the intended league with Portugal, and the marriage of the King with the Infanta, determined upon the extinction of the "Solemn League and Covenant," which was burnt with fire by the hands of the common hangman—A FATE WHICH IT RICHLY DESERVED. Nor was the public welfare neglected: they proceeded with great vigour to the despatch of business; and provided, by a variety of enactments, for the future stability and security of the kingdom.

Convocation  
A. D. 1662.

Nor were the members of the convocation, which sat concurrent with the Parliament, inattentive to their peculiar duties. They proceeded to draw up a solemn thanksgiving for the King's restoration, and a form of prayer to be used on the anniversary of his father's death; and added to the ritual of the church, the "form of baptism for those of riper years." Indeed, it seemed, at this impor-



tant juncture, as if the whole nation had resolved  
itself into one grand council for rectifying the dis-  
orders which prevailed both in church and state.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.


The Marquis  
of Argyle meets  
with retribu-  
tion.

Nor was it otherwise in the kingdom of Scotland. A full Parliament had assembled, and they proceeded, with unwearied zeal, to build up the walls of the constitution “which had been thrown down.” The Covenant was formally rescinded—the militia placed at the disposal of the King; and, a perpetual brand of infamy indelibly fixed on all who were concerned in the sale and transfer of the person of the late King; and it was inscribed in the records of the kingdom, as an atrocious act, “contrary to all the rules of justice, honour, gratitude, and humanity.” And, although the act of indemnity extended its protection to the utmost north, yet there was one individual whom the Divine retribution would not suffer to escape. The Marquis of Argyle was brought before the Parliament, tried and convicted of high treason; and, what is very remarkable, after his condemnation, he had the mortification to see the funeral rites of Montrose preformed with great solemnity; and within eight days his own head occupied the place, which he had so unrighteously awarded to that of the heroic Marquis.

Prince Rupert once more appears on the stage  
of English History. He attended as chief mourner  
at the funeral of his royal mother, the Queen of  
Bohemia,—an illustrious female, the eldest daugh-

Prince Ru-  
pert.



SECTION IV.  
 CHAP. III.  ter and only surviving child, of James I. She had married, as we have shewn, the Elector Palatine, and had endured with unshaken courage and resolution, the misfortunes of her family.—And she was permitted to behold the restoration and establishment of her father's throne in the person of his grandson. But a still greater honour was intended for her in the purposes of Providence. She was herself to be the parent and stock of the future Sovereigns of England. Of her seven sons and five daughters the youngest surviving, the Princess Sophia, was, after many years, declared and created heir to the throne of Great Britain: and from that auspicious beginning, the sceptre has descended to our present gracious Sovereign.

But before the settlement of the Monarchy in the house of Brunswick, a long series of important events was to transpire. The present Parliament had weighty business before them; and, perhaps, such a Parliament never had been assembled in England; and, in native talent, in wisdom derived from experience, in attachment to the institutions of their country, they have never been surpassed. They laboured incessantly to restore the civil institutions of their country—and with unexampled success; but their chief anxiety was, to establish the order and unity of the church which had been so fearfully invaded. The members of the Convocation lent their aid. The Book of Common Prayer was revised by them and presented to his

Character of  
 the Parliament



Majesty. The King who still loved the institu-  
 tions of his country, received it with the greatest  
 satisfaction, and sent it to the Commons with a  
 command, that they should prepare an "Act of  
 uniformity" on the basis of that formulary. They  
 were indefatigable in their attention to this mo-  
 mentous subject; and, after long and mature con-  
 sideration, they prepared a measure which, when  
 it had passed both houses, was presented to the  
 King by the Speaker of the Commons, in the  
 following words: "Your Majesty having already  
 restored the governors and government of the  
 Church, the patrimony and privileges of our church-  
 men: we hold it now, our duty, for the reforma-  
 tion of all abuses in the public worship of God,  
 humbly to present to your Majesty a bill for the  
 uniformity of public prayers, and administration  
 of Sacraments. We hope the God of order and  
 unity will conform the hearts of all the people in  
 this nation, to serve him in this order and uni-  
 formity."

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

The Act of  
uniformity.

Perhaps the world had never witnessed such a  
 bold and momentous piece of legislation. Its  
 immediate effects were truly formidable; and its  
 influence through successive generations on the  
 social state of Great Britain, has been vast and  
 inconceivable. The necessity of the case fully  
 justified the extent and pungency of its enact-  
 ments; and all succeeding generations have ap-  
 plauded its wisdom, justice, and propriety. It



SECTION was a master-piece of political wisdom ; and designed in the providence of God, to consolidate the mind and resources of the kingdom, and to prepare it for its future career of greatness. Before it came into opération, the greatest irregularity and disorder prevailed, in the church. Some of the ministers made use of the “ Common Prayer,” others, of the “ Directory,” and some, rejected both. The same confusion prevailed in discipline, in habit and in doctrine. In short, the church was a perfect Babel. The “ Act of uniformity” reduced the discordant elements to peace—rectified the crying disorders which prevailed—ejected the intruders from the temple, and restored the unity and beauty of the house of God. But these advantages were not secured without great privations and sufferings to many. More than two thousand ministers, many of whom were divines of eminence, but the majority persons of no reputation, who had been soldiers in the army, or mechanics, and who had intruded themselves into the benefices of the church, were ejected from their usurped possession by the provisions of this Act.

Persons inimical to the principle of acknowledging the English Catholic Church, as the national religion, by the state, have descanted largely on the hardship and cruelty of this Act. But in vain. It is the undoubted prerogative of the Church, to define and settle the terms of its com-

IV.

CHAP. III.

Effects of the  
Act.



munion; and, if the State unites itself to the church, in order to its being included in a national covenant, the civil rulers may impose these terms on the nation. This doctrine was fully admitted by the Presbyterians; and, the leaders of that party, at first determined upon compliance with the act, but, unfortunately, afterwards changed their intention, relying partly on their numbers but more on the promises of the popish party, who offered them pensions, if they would stand out, and resist the law. But, unhappily, the grand question of toleration was not yet understood. Men had not yet learnt that it is one thing to impose terms of communion, and to end all disputes, by saying: “we have no such custom, neither the churches of God;” and, another, to *compel* men to submit to those terms. The one is Apostolic and Christian—the other, is not only inconsistent with the principles of christianity; but abhorrent to common sense. But the state was advancing, through many troubles, to the settlement of that question.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

Doctrine of  
toleration un-  
known.

There was yet another criminal, who although expressly included in the act of indemnity, the justice of heaven suffered not to live. This was Sir H. Vane. He had been one of the chief and most unprincipled of the popular leaders in the late rebellion; and, though not one of the King's Judges, yet no individual in the kingdom was more deeply implicated in the guilt of that trans-

Sir H. Vane  
meets his just  
fate.



SECTION action. Such was his restless disposition that he  
 IV. could not live in tranquillity, and, having been  
 CHAP. III. found tampering with the malecontents of the  
 army, the Parliament petitioned the King that he  
 might be apprehended and brought to trial, with  
 Colonel Lambert, who was also suspected. On  
 their trials, Lambert behaved with so much hu-  
 mility and submission, that after sentence, he was  
 reprieved, and lived thirty years a prisoner in the  
 Isle of Guernsey. But never did any man, both  
 at his trial and execution, labour under a stronger  
 delusion, or, manifest greater folly, than Sir H.  
 Vane. He died in the same place on Tower Hill,  
 as the Earl of Strafford, in whose death he was  
 chiefly instrumental; and as he was the first man  
 that caused the shedding of the first blood, so his  
 blood was the last shed on account of the "Great  
 Rebellion!"

Death of Nor must we omit to mention the deaths of two  
 Lord Say, and other popular actors in the tragical events of these  
 of the Speaker, times. These were the Lord Say and the Speaker  
 Lenthall. Lenthall. The former lived to repent of his mad  
 folly, and employed all his resources in promo-  
 ting the restoration. He was favoured by the  
 King, and, died at the age of four-score, at his  
 seat at Broughton, where he had assisted with  
 Hampden and others to lay the foundation of the  
 civil war. The latter, William Lenthall, the great  
 time-server, contrived at the restoration to save  
 both himself and his property, and died in peace,




a sincere penitent, deeply regretting the line of SECTION  
conduct he had pursued, and was buried with IV.  
great obscurity at Barford, in Oxfordshire. CHAP. III.

The King rapidly deteriorated in his character. He had formally embraced Romanism for ends of religion. The King's expediency, against his declared judgment, and his most solemn obligations: but, instead of acting up to his new engagements, he was obliged, from political necessity, contrary to his noble disposition, to wear the garb of hypocrisy, and outwardly profess his attachment to the Protestant religion. And although, he might now have preferred, openly, to avow his real convictions, he was irrecoverably fettered by the chains of Popery. In this unhappy condition, his conscience stung with remorse, and his mind tortured, between the fear and the shame of a recantation—he threw off, as might reasonably be expected, all regard whatever to religion; and sought to drown every high and honourable conviction in the vortex of pleasure and dissipation.

Hitherto, everything had been transacted by The dispensing power. the advice and counsel of the immortal Clarendon and his two friends; but now a new era commenced under other, and blighting influence. The King's counsels became unsteady and variable. A separate council sat at Somerset House, where the Queen mother had taken up her residence, and her machinations soon began to operate, with deadly effect, upon the affairs of the kingdom.



SECTION IV.  CHAP. III. The King was induced to publish a declaration in which he was made to assume the power of explaining and dispensing with the enactments of Parliament; and it was exercised with respect to the Act of uniformity. It was a deep laid scheme for the introduction of Popery, under favour of the "Dispensing Power." But the Parliament was not to be duped, and they absolutely refused to assent to any such indefinite and irresponsible claim on the part of the crown, and addressed the King, in the most decisive terms against the power of indulgence; and, whoever reads and examines with attention, the reasons for their refusal transmitted to his Majesty, must admire their firmness and ability, their honesty and patriotism. The Earl of Clarendon also concurred with Parliament in opposition to this dangerous claim of the prerogative. But the plot for the downfall of this great minister was now matured; and the Earl of Bristol was appointed the agent for carrying into execution this difficult and dangerous enterprise. This nobleman, who had sworn fealty to the Church of Rome at the same altar with the King, had been more faithful to his engagements, and had become the zealous adherent of the Romish party. Such indeed, was his devotion to the wishes of that inexorable power, that forgetting the intimate friendship and mutual obligations, of many years standing, he exhibited articles of information against the Earl of Clarendon in



the House of Lords. They were dismissed by the Peers on account of their informality. But they answered their purpose. They were intended to shake the power of Clarendon, and to prepare the way for his ultimate ruin.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

At this time also, the nation, and humanity itself, lost its brightest ornament in the death of Archbishop Juxon, who had not only been permitted, as a reward for his virtue, honour, and piety, to witness the return of peace and happiness to his country, and behold the church restored to its integrity; but to be still more blessed in being called away before the renewal of those troubles, which, at length, overwhelmed the throne of his beloved master, with disgrace and infamy. He was buried with great honour, at St. John's, Oxford, beside the body of his friend, Archbishop Laud; and, was succeeded in his high office, by Doctor Gilbert Sheldon, Bishop of London.

Death of the  
Archbishop.

The Parliament on its re-assembling, after repealing the triennial Bill of sixteen hundred and forty-one, brought in another, entitled "an Act for the assembling and holding of Parliament once in three years at least;" and on presenting this important measure to the King, they complained of the injuries inflicted on trade and commerce, by the injurious and arbitrary conduct of the Dutch—a complaint which laid the foundation for the Dutch war.

The Dutch  
war.  
A. D. 1664.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

A splendid  
victory.

De Wit, was at that time, at the head of the Louvestein faction, which favoured the French interests, and he was in secret correspondence with the enterprising Monarch of that kingdom. The Dutch people were little inclined to war, but still less to make reparation for the losses which they had occasioned to the English merchants. The King was roused to action, and, on the refusal of the States of Holland to make reparation, he made the most vigorous preparations for war—visited his dock yards, and superintended the work, whilst the Duke of York, attended by Prince Rupert, went on board, as Admirals of the fleet. Such active and resolute conduct created considerable alarm in the states, and, when on the meeting of Parliament, the commons voted the sum of £2,477,500, Europe itself was filled with astonishment at the vast sum which their liberality and patriotism supplied. Nor was it long before the two powers were engaged in mortal combat. On the second of June, the English fleet bore down upon the Dutch squadrons under Admiral Opdam, off the Harwich shores. The encounter was fearful. The English performed prodigies of valour, more than sufficient to sustain their ancient character for naval tactics. Ten thousand of the Dutch perished, and two thousand were taken prisoners. The Duke of York, who discovered such eminent ability in action, acted with the most admirable bravery and coolness, was



overwhelmed with the grateful acknowledgments of his countrymen. Medals were struck in honour of his victory. The Duke was, at this time, in the height of his reputation; and deserved well of his country. But he had hitherto studiously concealed his religion. That religion, however, was destined to prove his ruin, and to destroy such a noble fabric of personal and national happiness as had scarcely ever offered itself to the expectations of an individual, or, a nation; other triumphs followed—vast spoils were taken, and the English navies rode triumphant on every sea.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. III.

But the most remarkable event connected with the continuance of this war, was, that it wrought the destruction of the Louvestein faction—rescued Holland from the tyranny of the “Lords of the States,” and called the Prince of Orange to the supreme direction of its affairs—a NECESSARY step to that great event, in our own country, which is denominated “THE REVOLUTION.”

Future history opens.

But, although, the Dutch were punished for their pride and injustice by the power of England, God was preparing a dreadful chastisement for the nation, which, forgetting its deliverances and obligations, had thrown off all moral restraint, and given itself up to the most profligate courses. Disgusted with the pretensions and hypocrisy of the late times, instead of cultivating the virtues of sobriety and sincerity, men rushed into the contrary extreme, abandoned religion itself, and be-

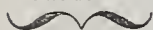
The great  
PLAGUE.  
A. D. 1665.



SECTION came infidels both in doctrine and practice.

IV.

CHAP. III.



Never was a degeneracy in morals and religion more universal, and never was there a visitation prepared, more fearful, than the "Plague," which threatened all with extinction. Death rode in melancholy and terrific procession, through every street and alley of the Metropolis. Coffins could not be found for the dead. They were cast forth "like dung on the face of the earth," or, thrown in countless numbers into large pits, excavated for the purpose. All, who possessed the means, fled from the scene of misery and death. The good were humbled—the wicked exasperated. The religious prayed—and died: the ungodly, blasphemed—and, in the midst of revelling and lewdness, perished.

Conduct of  
the Archbishop

Many of the clergy fled, but others nobly ventured all in the service of humanity and charity. Archbishop Sheldon continued at his post; and, by his benevolence, activity and influence, was a great instrument in alleviating the horrors of that calamitous day. The Duke of Albemarle was

Earl of Albe-  
marle.

appointed Governor of the city; and gave orders for every emergency, with such heroic coolness and judgment, that he appeared as if he had been born to triumph over danger in every form, and to be superior to death itself.

The King.

The King, himself, although a chief offender, manifested a paternal regard for his people, and gave £1000 a week for the relief of the destitute.



SECTION  
IV.

## CHAP. III.

The Earl of  
Craven.

Nor must we forget to mention the equally magnanimous conduct of William Earl of Craven, who, in the most patriotic manner, devoted himself and his fortune, to alleviate the sufferings of his fellow countrymen. He pursued his dangerous career with unshaken zeal—visiting the abodes of the dying—in the midst of infection, impurity, and death hazarding his life, and by his christian fortitude, attained a glory superior to that which he acquired, by his martial exploits in Germany, and many other parts of the world.

In the meantime, the enemies of England rejoiced in her calamity. The Dutch insisted that the direful visitation was sent by God on their behalf: the sectaries and republicans considered it a providential opening for “the good old cause:” and, whilst one would be willing to exculpate the more respectable leaders of the Presbyterians—it is an undoubted fact, that the nonconformists generally symbolized with the Dutch, and even enlisted in their service, whilst the seditious ministers entered into a correspondence with them. For these rebellious acts, the Parliament on its re-assembling, determined to punish them; and, without any countenance from the Court, or, the Church, drew up a most stringent measure, entitled the “Five mile Act,” which prohibited all non-conformist preachers from residing within the distance of five miles from any corporate town. This was a dreadful blow to that party; and brought

Of the dis-  
senters.



SECTION distress and ruin upon hundreds of the ministers  
 IV. and their families. Would that we could say,  
 CHAP. III. that their sufferings were undeserved! But their  
 seditious practices were too notorious to be denied;  
 and, for the peace of the country, it was necessary  
 that their power of mischief should be destroyed.

Death of the Earl of Lindsay. At this juncture, died the Earl of Lindsay, whose name has had high and honourable mention in this history—a man of unparalleled patriotism and honour—a true nobleman—whose dignity consisted, not in the splendour of his rank, nor in the extent of his fortune, but in the true elevation of mind, and in deeds of virtue. Nor did he fall alone. Doctor John Carle, Bishop of Salisbury, followed him, who had been tutor to the King, and attended him in his exile. He was distinguished for his great learning, nor less for his humility; and although he lived in times of great excitement, and experienced great changes of fortune, he exemplified under all circumstances, the same pious, peaceable, and primitive temper.

Doctor Cornelius Burgess. At the same time, a very different person, whose name has long been before the reader, ended his career. This was Doctor Cornelius Burgess, who was, certainly, a principal incendiary in the rebellion, furiously active, and scandalously subversive to the “Long Parliament.” During the usurpation, like many others, whose object was plunder, he enriched himself out of the Bishops’ land; but at the restoration he was stripped of his



sacrilegious plunder, died in lingering torment of a cancer in his throat, and in want and poverty.

To increase the difficulties and danger of this period, France and Denmark entered into an alliance with Holland. But the Parliament and people were unanimous in their resolution to defend the honour of their country, and made prodigious advances of money for carrying on the war. The fleet was early ready for sea, under two of the most determined commanders that certainly ever lived, Prince Rupert, and the Duke of Albemarle. But, unfortunately, the English fleet was divided by a stratagem. Prince Rupert with his squadron was dispatched in quest of the French fleet, and immediately on his departure the Dutch, who had reported that they should not be ready for sea for six weeks, appeared off the Isle of Wight, with ninety ships of the line, whilst the English fleet amounted to no more than fifty-nine. But the Duke of Albemarle was there; who, like his associate, could never endure the sight of an enemy without engaging in battle. The fight continued, with almost equal success, for three days, when the Dutch being reinforced with sixteen ships, the Duke of Albemarle with matchless skill and bravery, protected the retreat of his ships. But, on the fourth day, Prince Rupert, having heard the roar of their cannon, bore down upon the scene of action. The fight was renewed with determined resolution, and un-

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

A great Sea  
fight.

A. D. 1666.



SECTION IV. til both fleets were so dreadfully shattered, that they were obliged to give up the contest, and retire to their own shores.

CHAP. III.

Another  
splendid vic-  
tory.

The Dutch were as proud of their escape, as if they had obtained a decisive victory; and fondly imagined that the British naval power, was destined to fall before them. The vain-glorious anticipation filled them with the greatest alacrity. They were soon at sea with a formidable fleet, and entered the British channel in expectation of joining the French squadron,—when, to their astonishment, the English fleet appeared, consisting of ninety sail of the line, under the Earl of Albemarle. Another dreadful engagement took place, and, after a hideous confusion of thunder, smoke, and carnage, the English fleet obtained a decisive victory. The Dutch fled with the greatest precipitancy; and, when the English Men of War could no longer follow them, on account of the flats and banks, to the great mortification of the Dutch, a small yacht, or pleasure boat, belonging to Prince Rupert, was despatched against the Admiral's ship, which for an hour, continued playing her broad-sides, of two guns, amidst the shouts and laughter of the English fleet.

But whilst it pleased the God of battles, to grant success to the English navy, and to frustrate every hostile act, whether foreign or domestic, against her government and laws. He, himself, was preparing another chastisement both for the King



and people, only less terrible than the judgment which had preceded it. SECTION IV.

It was at midnight, on the first of September, that the inhabitants of the Metropolis were roused from their beds by the alarm of fire. The East wind was raging with great fury, and, in a short time, the scene of ruin became terrific. Prodigious flakes of fire were carried on the fury of the blast, threatening destruction to every part of the city. Such was the rapidity with which it spread that it defied opposition. Paleness sat on every face. The furious element, unchecked, prevailed to such an extent, that it mounted up into the air in solid pyramids of fire, triumphing in its destructive career, and mocking all the feeble efforts of the people to extinguish it. Human aid failed: everything was, indeed, attempted, that the skill of man could contrive, or, his labour execute. But it pursued its devastating progress, and the dawning day only served to shew the ruin which it had accomplished. The King, roused from his pleasures, rode twice that day round the circuit of the fire, with a purse of gold in his hand, the contents of which he distributed to the workmen, encouraging them to exertion. But in vain. Returning darkness only served to discover the increasing strength of the conflagration. The whole city was illumined. Fear and anxiety prevailed over the fatigues of the day, and denied to the unhappy citizens, the forgetfulness of sleep. Nor

CHAP. III.

The great Fire.



SECTION IV.  
 CHAP. III.

did returning day bring them any appearance of relief. The fire advanced with unmitigated fury, as if heaven and earth were alike threatened with destruction, the King was at his post, as on the preceding day: houses, and even streets, were pulled down to deprive the devouring element of the material upon which it fed, but disdaining such precautions, it advanced with greater fierceness, and rolled on in its majestic course of ruin, for three days, and having destroyed eighty-nine churches—a vast multitude of public edifices, and thirteen thousand dwelling houses, and spreading desolation over a space of four hundred and thirty-six acres—when to all human appearance, it had overcome every means of resistance, “BY THE WILL OF HEAVEN it stopped, and was extinguished.” \*

The King. All men were awakened to reflection by this direful calamity, and acknowledged the immediate hand of Heaven in its infliction. The King, at the meeting of Parliament, said in his opening speech: “You see the dismal ruins the fire has made; and nothing but a miracle of God’s mercy, could have preserved what is left, from the same destruction.”

The Parliament acted with their usual vigour, prudence and liberality, nor, was it long before the devoted city began to rise out of its ashes, in greater beauty and splendour; nor, must we omit,

\* Inscription on the monument.



the eloquent words of the Speaker of the House of Commons, when submitting to the King, the measures which they had prepared, for the ordering and rebuilding of the city: "We must," he said, "for ever, with humility, acknowledge the justice of God in punishing this whole nation, by the late dreadful conflagration of London. We know they were not the greatest sinners upon whom the tower of Siloam fell, and all our sins, doubtless, did contribute to the filling up that measure, which being full, drew down the wrath of God upon this city. We hope God will direct your royal heart, and your fortunate hand, in a few days, to lay a foundation-stone in the re-building that royal city—the beauty and praise of which, shall fill the whole earth."

SECTION

IV.


CHAP. III.

But, whilst the people were recovering from their late panic, and the Parliament was rejoicing in the prospect of the future prosperity and glory of their country—the whole nation was, again, thrown into consternation, under the most aggravating circumstances, and particularly insulting to the national honour.

Another calamity.  
A. D. 1667.

For some time, on the mediation of Sweden, a treaty of peace had been entered into by the contending powers; and, was, at length, concluded at Breda, to the satisfaction of both nations. But, whilst the treaty was pending, the Dutch, acting upon a stratagetic policy, in order to obtain more favourable terms, perceiving the English entirely



SECTION IV.  
 CHAP. III.  off their guard, and unprepared for action, fitted out a strong fleet and approached the English coast. Finding no opposition, they sailed up the Medway, made themselves master of the fort of Sheerness; and having the advantage of an easterly wind and a strong tide, they resolutely pressed on, broke through a chain of ships which had been sunk, and moored at the muscle bank, and committing dreadful ravages among the shipping advanced to Upnore Castle, where their career was stopped by the almost single-handed vigour, courage, and prudence, of the Duke of Albemarle, who seemed to be raised up to meet every emergency, and to become the tutelary genius of his country!

Fall of Clarendon.

The whole nation felt themselves disgraced by this insulting aggression of their enemies. Great neglect was attributed by Parliament, to the Commissioners of his Majesty's dock yards:—but the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, was the victim to be sacrificed on this occasion to the popular resentment. It was on the thirty-first of August, that the King demanded the great seal from his old and faithful Minister, and, by this mark of his displeasure, delivered him up to the malice of his enemies. He was shortly after, impeached by the Commons, and, in the end, an act of banishment against him passed both houses of Parliament. He fell, and, with him the dignity, honour, and stability, of the national affairs. Nor was it a



trifling addition to the loss of this great statesman, that shortly after, his Majesty's Counsels were deprived, by death, of the great abilities of his friend the Earl of Southampton. Clarendon retired to France, and left behind him a noble apology, which remains a lasting monument of his integrity and patriotism; and though banished by his ungrateful master, and mistaken countrymen, he stands honoured in the annals of his country, not only for his own important and splendid services, in the re-establishment of the Church and Monarchy, but as the grandfather of two Queens of glorious memory!

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. III.

The treaty of Breda led to the formation of the "Triple League," between England, France, and Holland, as a counterpoise to the encroaching power of France; and, at length, through the incredible labours, high integrity, and consummate prudence of Sir William Temple, who has gained by these transactions, immortal honour as a diplomatist, to the peace of Aix-la-chapelle.

Sir W. Temple.  
A. D. 1668.

But as an honest statesman who deserved well of his country, he stood almost alone. Clarendon was gone, and succeeded in his high office by the Lord Keeper Bridgeman, and, in the King's favour by the Duke of Buckingham, a man so abandoned and so fertile in the invention of criminal pleasures, that, together with his friend and associate, the Earl of Rochester, he was sufficient to corrupt any court in the world. That in which

Profligacy of  
the court.



SECTION IV. they lived, quickly degenerated into the abodes of venality, profligacy, and infidelity.

CHAP. III.

Design of a  
toleration frus-  
trated.

A. D. 1669.

In the midst of such Counsellors, no stability in government could be expected, and every latent evil in the commonwealth began straightforth to discover itself. The Popish faction exerted its utmost influence, and to counteract their efforts, a scheme was set on foot, under the direction of the Lord Keeper Bridgeman, and Sir John Baber, to bring the Presbyterians within the pale of the Church, and to grant a general toleration. Dr. Manton, Mr. Calamy, and Mr. Baxter, were consulted; but the design was frustrated by the “tergiversation and cavils of the Presbyterians.” This ineffectual attempt at reconciliation widened the breach; and the Presbyterians in order to secure their further degradation and punishment, moved to a conjunction with the Independents—a circumstance which filled the minds of all men with jealousy and alarm. The House of Commons zealously interfered, and the King, although he secretly favoured them, was obliged to publish a proclamation “for putting in execution the laws against non-conformists, and for suppressing conventicles,” and the Duke of Albemarle having reported to the House, that the peace of the city was endangered by the meetings of seditious, and disaffected persons, it was resolved “That the thanks of this House be given to the Lord Gene-



ral for his care in preserving the peace of the kingdom.”

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

But it was the last act of that remarkable man, and he was about to close his long and arduous career. He died, after a short illness, on the second of January, in the sixty-second year of his age, and has left behind him an imperishable name in the annals of his country. If any doubt remained on the minds of men, respecting his honourable intentions at the restoration—it was obliterated by the actions of his subsequent life. Never had a Prince a more humble and obedient subject; nor a State a more useful and patriotic citizen.

The affairs of the country now rapidly progressed. The King was ingulphed in pleasure; and, after discovering the finest talents for government, which, if properly directed, might have secured the honour and prosperity of his country—he became enslaved to his passions; and fell under the secret influence of the enemies of his country. His Ministers, were men of eminent parts; and, to them was committed the whole management of affairs. The government of the country thus fell into the hands of an oligarchy, their grand design, was to humble the power of the Parliament, and to enlarge and strengthen the prerogatives of the crown. This oligarchy has been denominated the “CABAL,” not only from the pernicious and intriguing character of their

Character of  
the govern-  
ment.



SECTION IV. counsels, but from a singular combination of the initials of their names: Lord Clifford—Ashley Cooper—the Duke of Buckingham—Lord Arlington—and the Earl of Lauderdale—all men of consummate ability, and of great political enterprise. Ashley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, was the most profound, intriguing, and politically profligate—of great genius, fertile in invention, and undaunted in the prosecution of his enterprizes, however dishonourable, or atrocious.

The Duchess  
of Orleans.

The first project of the “Cabal” was to form a strict alliance with France, and to bring the power of that kingdom, to bear, with full effect, against the liberties of their own. In order to accomplish this part of their design, these desperate politicians prepared measures for breaking the “Triple League,” which had been so happily formed between England, Holland, and Sweden. A secret correspondence was entered into with the court of France. The envoy of the French Monarch on this occasion, was none other than the King’s sister, who had been married to the Duke of Orleans.

Her unhappy  
death.

The Duchess was met by the King and all the principal nobility at Dover; and entertained, during a fortnight, with all the splendour and extravagance of royal dissipation; and left behind her the seeds of corruption, which afterwards grew up and produced their legitimate fruits. But the enactment of a dreadful tragedy awaited



her return: In the midst of health and beauty, and joyousness, through the jealousy of her husband, respecting her conduct in England, she was hurried to an untimely grave, by poison.

SECTION  
IV.

CHAP. III.

The whole of this negotiation, which was nothing less than a proposal from the French Monarch “of insuring the King of England an absolute authority over his Parliament, and re-establishing the Catholic religion in the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland,” was kept a profound secret, and confined to the members of the Cabal. Even the Lord Keeper, Bridgeman, was unacquainted with it. At the opening of Parliament, the King said little: but the Lord Keeper made a long speech on the necessity of enlarging the naval power, as a protection against the increasing and encroaching power of France. The Parliament with great sincerity, responded to the statements of the unconscious Lord Keeper; and full of zeal and patriotism, voted large supplies, which the Cabal had destined to other purposes, and, with which, they were intending to conspire against the liberties and independence of their country. Monstrous evils were soon to follow. But what is remarkable, at the very moment these infamous transactions were taking place, and treachery and profligacy were uniting their counsels to overthrow the institutions of the country—an overruling Providence, who intended to

Designs of  
the Cabal.



SECTION avert the impending evil, indulged the nation with  
 IV. a sight of their future deliverer.

CHAP. III.

Arrival of  
 the Prince of  
 Orange.

A. D. 1670.

The PRINCE OF ORANGE arrived in England on a visit to his royal uncle; and was received with great affection by all the members of the royal family. He was then eighteen years of age, of a commanding aspect, and dignified bearing; and all men were filled with admiration at the vigour of his understanding, and the extent of his practical wisdom. The Lord Arlington, who had no prejudice in favour of the Prince, in a letter to Sir William Godolphin, Ambassador to Spain, writes in the following strain: "The Prince of Orange hath been now these three weeks amongst us, much to the satisfaction of the King and all who have seen him, being a young man of the most extraordinary understanding and parts, besides his quality and birth, which makes him shine the better."

Such was the man, who was designed by God, at no distant period, to be the instrument of consolidating the work of centuries; and settling the British monarchy on the deep foundations and transcendant principles of Protestantism. During his stay in England, he visited the universities and other principal places in the kingdom; and was everywhere received with marked respect and veneration, as if his future destiny had been foreseen and anticipated.





The tide of evil had already set in ; for, scarcely had the young Prince departed from our shores, than a desperate attempt was made upon the life of one of the most upright and patriotic noblemen of the day. This was the Duke of Ormond—the last of the three friends, whose united counsels had restored the constitutional integrity of the monarchy. The Earl of Southampton was no more : the Earl of Clarendon was in honourable exile ; and now, the third had well nigh fallen a victim to the hands of a bloody assassin. The chief actor in this attempt, was a daring villain of the name of Blhud. His crimes in Ireland had been most flagitious, and rendered him a fitting instrument in the hands of those who were attempting the ruin of their country. The virtue of the Duke of Ormond, was an insurmountable obstacle in their way. His death would remove it, and it was determined upon. As he was returning one night, to his house in Charing Cross, his carriage was furiously attacked by Blhud and his associates, mounted on excellent horses. The Duke's attendants were overpowered ; and he himself being seized, was bound and fastened on horseback, behind one of the assassins, who galloped off with the barbarous intention of hanging the Duke on the gallows at Tyburn. But, happily, the noise occasioned by the assault, and the escape of one of the domestics, alarmed the servants of the house, who, immediately, went in pursuit ; at

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

Attempt on  
the life of the  
Duke of Or-  
mond.



SECTION IV. the same moment the Duke struggling with the man, behind whom he was mounted, by a strong effort brought him to the ground. The Duke's servants were now approaching, and the assassins finding their scheme frustrated, fired two shots at their intended victim as he lay on the ground, but, happily, without effect; and mounting their horses, fled. The atrocious affair filled the nation with perplexity and alarm, and, was, for a long time, involved in the deepest mystery and obscurity.

IV.  
CHAP. III.

But it could not long be hidden. The course of events sufficiently indicated the source and origin of those disorders which, now, began to rage in the very bosom of the State.

The Parliament itself was in great perplexity. So great was the resort of the Jesuits to England —such the wrath and insolence of the Popish faction—that the House of Commons felt themselves called upon to give the subject the fullest consideration. The King sought to divert their attention by urging the necessity of the supplies: but the danger was too great to admit of delay; and they drew up a well-digested and talented declaration and address, “to his Majesty, on the growth and danger of Popery, and the remedies which ought to be applied.” The King was obliged to yield to the determined spirit of the Commons; and issued a proclamation, ordering all Jesuits to depart the kingdom. The Commons

Patriotism of  
the Commons.



were deceived by this ready compliance on the part of the King, and voted incredible supplies. This answered their purpose, and was the end the Cabal had in view by their dissimulation. No sooner were the supplies granted, than the House was adjourned, and prorogued for one year and nine months !

SECTION  
IV.

CHAP. III.

Deeds of blackest night were now transacted, without shame or remorse, in which the Papists were chief actors, and played a deep political game. The King was persuaded to seek a divorce; and, to render it plausible, schemes of treachery were enacted against the Queen. The divorce was conducted and concluded upon at Rome: but it was not the intention of that court that it should ever take place. It was done merely to draw an illustrious convert more fully and openly into the snare. This was the Duke of York. He had embraced the Romish religion at an early age, and was a much more sincere proselyte than his royal brother. In the event of a divorce, the Duke perceived that his succession to the crown, might be endangered; and he was fain to accede to the conditions proposed to him. To be brief—the divorce was put a stop to, on the Duke's consenting to abjure, in a more full and explicit manner—THE PROTESTANT RELIGION—which he did, on this occasion, before father Simons, an English Jesuit.

The Duke of  
York ensnared.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.



It was a refined and deep-laid scheme; and seemed to promise well to its promoters; but like all evil projects, it laid the foundation for their utter discomfiture and overthrow. The Duke's religion, which had hitherto been a secret, and known to few, could no longer be disguised. The nation took the alarm, and the people, filled with astonishment and perplexity, turned their eyes on the Duke of Monmouth—a popular, aspiring, nobleman, possessing some good qualities, and an illegitimate son of the King. But their blind hopes were not to be realized. England was to be saved under more honourable auspices!

Insult to the  
Dutch fleet.

Sir W. Temple, who had done so much for his country, and, for Europe, by the formation of the “Triple Alliance,” by which the arbitration of European affairs was placed in the power of England—refusing to become a tool in the hands of the “Cabal,” nobly relinquished his embassy. One of the King's yacht's was sent for Lady Temple and her family; and, it was, on this occasion, that the captain had orders, if he saw the Dutch fleet, to fire a shot and require the Dutch Admiral to strike to him. The Captain of the yacht acted up to his orders; but the Dutch Admiral excused himself, on the ground, that it never could be expected that the whole Dutch fleet should strike to a pleasure boat.

Whilst the Cabal were thus seeking to create a breach with Holland, two of the Parliamentary



Generals who had distinguished themselves in the civil wars, terminated their career by death. The first was the Earl of Manchester, who all his life, deplored, with unaffected sorrow, the evils of which he had been the author. At the reformation, he was appointed Lord Chamberlain of the Household; and such was his admirable conduct, that he was chosen Lord High Chancellor of the University of Cambridge—affording, in one person a striking instance of the pernicious consequences of deserting, for the sake of an imaginary good, the principles of the constitution; and offering a bright example of the beauty of repentance—and amendment of life. The other, was the Lord Fairfax, whose martial renown had reached the utmost limits of the civilized world. His integrity, was as great as his ability. He was outwitted, indeed, by the subtle Cromwell; but he never ceased to lament, with bitter tears, the murder of the King; and thought himself indescribably happy in having a principal share in the RESTORATION.

SECTION

IV.


CHAP. III.

Deaths of  
two great  
Leaders.

The King and his ministers became daily more abject and degraded. Blhud, whose name has been so lately mentioned in connexion with the attempt upon the life of the Duke of Ormond, was apprehended in an open and daring attempt, to plunder the jewel office in the Tower. On his examination, at which the King was present, he boldly confessed that he was one of the conspi-

Attempt on  
the Jewel office.



SECTION IV.  
 CHAP. III.  rators against the life of the Duke of Ormond; and, instructed, no doubt, in the part he was to act, declared that he had been previously engaged to take away the life of the King, and, that he had stood prepared, with a carbine in his hand, whilst his Majesty was bathing near Battersea, but that he had relented from an awe of majesty which came over his mind; and intimated, that he had associates who would revenge his death. To the astonishment of all men, the wretch was pardoned; nor, was that all,—he had a pension of £600 a year settled upon him, and was admitted to all the secrets of the Cabal. Such was the unprincipled character of the government at that period.

Project of the Cabal. Such, also, was the extravagant expenditure of the court, that although Parliament had granted supplies to the amount of three millions, and the King of France had remitted more than £700,000, they were still unable to fit out a suitable armament. In this emergency, recourse was had to an ingenious stratagem, invented by Lord Ashley, of shutting up the payments of the exchequer, so that all sums of money lodged there by the bankers, might be retained without interest, for the King's use. The bankers, immediately stopped their payments, and a general clamour and consternation prevailed. The king in person met the bankers in the Treasury, and by his promises prevailed upon them to resume their payments.



Still, many private individuals and families were ruined, by this disgraceful transaction.

SECTION IV.

CHAP. III.

Another important step as a preliminary to the war was suggested by Lord Ashley, now created Earl of Shaftesbury. This was a *general toleration* of religion, which was intended to propitiate the Dissenters, who were warm advocates for the Dutch alliance, as well as to oblige the French by extending to the Roman Catholics, the free exercise of their religion. The measure was introduced to the nation, in a royal proclamation, in which, the King assumed the prerogative, as supreme in ecclesiastical affairs of dispensing with acts of Parliament. It was, however, a most politic measure, and, whatever might have been the motives which dictated it, it was a noble boon to the non-conformists, and Roman Catholics; and, although the manner of carrying it into execution, was an unwarrantable stretch of the prerogative, yet it continued in operation for nine years, nor did the Parliament interfere, till urged to it by new provocations.

A general toleration.

Nothing now remained, but a formal declaration of war, against Holland, which was proclaimed in London on the seventeenth of March, without the sanction of Parliament, and against the inclination of all men. But the "Cabal" was supreme, and whilst they were exulting at the apparent success of their schemes—the Almighty hand which guides the affairs of men, was direct-

War against Holland.



SECTION ing their movements to a result exactly contrary  
 IV. to their intentions; and, through a great variety  
 CHAP. III. of the most conflicting circumstances and hazard-  
 ous events, to a termination, at once momentous  
 and grand.

Desperate en-  
 gagement.  
 A. D. 1671.

The Duke of York, as Lord High Admiral, embarked on board the English fleet, consisting of one hundred sail. The Earl of Sandwich, Vice Admiral, formed a junction with the French fleet, under D'Estres, Vice Admiral of France. The Dutch fleet was under De Ruyter. On Whitsun-Tuesday, the two fleets came to an engagement. The English and Dutch fought with their usual desperate courage. The Duke of York displaying his natural courage, was soon in dreadful combat with De Ruyter, and defended his ship till his maintop was carried away, when leaving his disabled ship, with great intrepidity he hoisted his flag on board the "London." The Earl of Sandwich was in still hotter battle; for, after having disabled the enemy's wing to which he was opposed, his vessel was singled out, and quickly surrounded with four fire-ships. Every thing which skill and courage could devise, was attempted to rescue his ship from these volcanic engines. By incredible efforts, three of the fire-ships were sunk; but, being grappled by the fourth, he saw that his destruction was inevitable. With labouring breast the Admiral took a last view of the scene; and, when he saw six hundred



of his men lying dead upon the deck, and his ship a burning wreck, refusing all means of escape, he retired to his cabin; and, tying a handkerchief round his eyes, awaited in silence, the approaching catastrophe. His body was afterwards found and buried with great honour, at the King's expense, in Westminster Abbey. The fight continued till nine at night, when the Dutch stood off, and were next day pursued by the English to their own coasts.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

Whilst these things were transacting at sea, the French monarch had taken the field with one hundred and twenty thousand men, and marked his course by a series of victories, until he reached Utrecht, and seated himself in the heart of the united provinces. The rapid and astonishing advance of the French army, filled the people of Holland with indignation and fury. They imputed all their misfortunes, and the slavery which awaited them, to their Governors, the States General; and, with one voice, demanded the restoration of the Prince of Orange to all the rights of his family. The demand was irresistible: and, the Prince came forth at the call of the people, displaying at the early age of twenty, that profound wisdom, that cool and determined courage, and that patient prudence, which, in other men is the fruit of long experience, and which, at once, marked him out, as a signal instrument of divine Providence, in carrying out his benevolent pur-

Conquest of  
Holland by the  
French.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.



poses towards mankind. The very news of his elevation filled the hearts of their conquerors with awe, if not with alarm. They immediately offered him the title of King, and the sovereignty of his native land, if he would hold it under the protection of France. It was a temptation which few men under his circumstances would have had the courage to resist. His country half conquered—a powerful army seated in its very centre—the war conducted by the most skilful Generals of the age, and supported by the united power of France and England. But nothing could shake his resolution and patriotism. To all their solicitations he had but one reply, which was always ready: “that he would never betray a trust which had been committed to him, nor ever sell the liberties of a country which his ancestors had defended.”

Death of De  
Wit, and his  
brother.

Nor was this all: the Louvestein faction, who now saw that their reign was over, shewed even at that desperate moment, what every faction must eventually shew, that it was not their country they valued, but their own interest and ascendancy. Cornelius De Wit, brother of the famous Pensionary, was apprehended for conspiring and attempting the life of the Prince; but, evidence being wanting to his condemnation, he was sentenced to banishment. On the morning he was to leave the prison, his brother the Pensionary, drove up in his coach and four to carry away his banished relative in a sort of triumph. But alas!



his triumph was short, and he was about to find a fearful termination to his proud career. The two brothers no sooner made their appearance at the door of the prison, and were proceeding to their carriage, than the infuriated populace, enraged at their past conduct, and, instigated afresh by this open defiance of the laws, rushed on the unhappy men, and tore them in pieces!

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

In England, the Cabal were busily employed in carrying on their great designs, the principal of which, was their own promotion. Lord Clifford was made Lord High Treasurer, an office which had been in commission since the death of the Earl of Southampton. Ashley, Earl of Shaftesbury was made Lord High Chancellor. Lord Arlington was raised to an Earldom, and the Earl of Lauderdale was created a Duke. Thus fortified and enriched, they resolved to await the meeting of Parliament, which was summoned for the fourth of February. But confident as they were in their own resources, they had already reached the height of their power and presumption. The hand of a retributive Providence was already lifted up, and all their lofty projects were about to be dashed, at one blow, to the ground. So may the counsels of all be confounded who “Cabal” against the liberties of their country!

Promotions

of the Cabal.

At the opening of Parliament, the King supported the necessity of the war with Holland, with his usual good sense, and conciliating manner.

The Com-

mons interfere,



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

and frustrate  
their designs.

He was supported by the Lord Chancellor, in a speech of surprising depth and eloquence. But Parliament was inflexible. Resolutely loyal, they were determined to support the King; but they were still more resolved to uphold the laws and liberties of the kingdom. They complained of the declaration of indulgence, in which the King had assumed a dispensing power; and maintained in an address to his Majesty, "that PENAL statutes in matters Ecclesiastical, cannot be suspended but by act of Parliament." This opposition was a serious difficulty. It was a fundamental point with the "Cabal," and the King had set his heart upon it; and, for the first time, he returned the Commons an evasive answer. But they were determined to obtain a full and unequivocal renunciation of the "Dispensing Power." Their prudence, loyalty, and perseverance, on this trying occasion, can never be duly estimated. The King with all his faults, was too patriotic to contend for the prerogative against known laws, and the wishes of Parliament. He relinquished his pretensions.

But his submission was attended with utter discomfiture and ruin to the Cabal. The steady, reasonable, inflexible, opposition of the Commons, discovered to them the impossibility of executing their designs. The Earl of Shaftesbury, in particular, was so convinced of his critical situation, that he determined, at all hazards, to save himself



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.


from the resentment of Parliament. Such, indeed, was the danger he apprehended, and so precipitate was his retreat from his former counsels, that the very next day, he appeared in the House of Lords, at the head of the party who were most zealous against the Roman Catholic religion—the Dutch war and the alliance with France. All men were astonished at his conduct. The King and the Duke of York, happened to be present at the debate, in which Lord Clifford, the Treasurer, was to propose the establishment of a permanent revenue for the crown. The Duke of York, enraged at the unexpected opposition of Shaftesbury, who had even assisted to prepare the Lord Treasurer's speech, whispered to the King: "What a rogue have you of a Lord Chancellor." To which the King with great coolness replied: "What a fool have you of a Treasurer."

But mighty events depended upon this sudden change. For by this defection, not only was the power of the "Cabal" broken, but the intrigues and designs of the Court became fully known, and the nation placed upon its guard. The cabal declines.

Lord Clifford retired from office, and died shortly after, of vexation and chagrin. Whilst Shaftesbury deprived of the seals, gave place to Sir Heneage Finch. The Duke of Buckingham, as might be expected from his unprincipled habits, took the alarm; and, being threatened with an impeachment, desired to defend himself before the



SECTION IV. House of Commons, which he did, by implicating the Earl of Arlington, who was obliged to retire, whilst the last remaining member of this famous junto, the Duke of Lauderdale, was shortly after to bear his just share of the public indignation.

CHAP. III.  Corporation and Test Act. The Commons proceeded, not only with undaunted courage, but with consummate wisdom and prudence. They prepared a measure commonly called the "Corporation and Test Act," demanding of all persons holding office in the state, the oath of allegiance and supremacy; whilst to secure the power of the state, in favour of the religious establishment, of the country, it was made necessary to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. This Act, afterwards, and, very properly, pressed upon Dissenters; but, at that time, the non-conformists made no scruple of holding communion with the Church of England. The Commons even passed a bill for the toleration of Protestant Dissenters; but which had not time to pass the Lords before the recess. This Act proved disastrous to the Popish party. The Duke of York laid down his command as Lord High Admiral. His retirement was certainly a great loss at this conjuncture, but there was one man who could supply his place. This was Prince Rupert. By his courage, patience, and admirable seamanship, in three desperate engagements he sustained inviolate the honour of



the British flag, against all the skill and valour of the famous Dutch Admirals De Ruyter, Tromp, and Bankert with the aid of superior numbers.


SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. III.

Whilst the Dutch Admirals were conducting themselves with great bravery at sea, the genius of the Prince of Orange triumphed on land. Having laid his plans with the Emperor, like another Scipio, he resolved to save his country by abandoning it. Accordingly, having left his chief post guarded by a part of his army, with the main body he marched into Germany, joined a portion of the imperial army and beseiged "Bonne," which had been given up into the hands of the French, in the beginning of the war. The boldness of the attempt astonished all men, and the success which attended it, established his character for prudence and courage. By the capture of "Bonne," a passage was opened for the German forces to cross the Rhine into Flanders, which gave such a sudden blow to the designs of the French, that they immediately abandoned all their conquests in Holland, with greater celerity than they had made them. The gratitude of his countrymen was unbounded; and so rapidly were the purposes of Providence unfolded, that by a solemn decree of the States, he was confirmed hereditary stadtholder of Holland; and, as if this had been the sole intention of the war, a negotiation for peace immediately followed, and the Commissioners assembled at Cologne.

Conduct of  
the Prince of  
Orange.



SECTION IV. In the midst of these transactions, died, that desperate man Oliver St. John, who had borne a principal part in the calamities of the late reign, and arrived at last, at the enviable title of "Oliver Cromwell's dark lantern." Little is known of him after the restoration, except that he retired from public life, and lived in great obscurity, at his estate at Long Thorpe, in Northamptonshire.

CHAP. III.  
  
 Death of Oliver St. John.

The King, as he advanced in years, abandoned himself still more to the soft influence of luxurious pleasure; and, although endued with those great qualities of mind and person, which might have rendered him an honour and a benefactor to his country, through his effeminacy, he lost every opportunity of glory to himself and benefit to his people, and became the easy prey of evil and interested counsellors.

Duke of York  
 takes his resolution.

The Duke of York had now taken his part with great decision; and through his secretary Coleman, entered into a secret negotiation with the King of France. The object of this correspondence was to secure the power of France, for the purpose of re-establishing arbitrary power, and the Roman Catholic religion, in England; and, to prevent if possible, the interference of the English Parliament, in opposition to the ambitious designs of the French Monarch. This negotiation was to prove the ruin of both. But, for the present, through vast and unspeakable evils to their country, they were to prevail. Popery was once more



to manifest her intriguing and political character, and to afford another striking example to mankind of the vast power she wields, and the obstinacy with which she pursues her views of aggrandizement and supremacy.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. III.


The consequences were immediately apparent. The intrigues of the Romish party, became every day more active and vigorous. The King became a pensioner of France; and vast sums of money were supplied by that country to support his extravagance, and to render him independent of Parliament.

France as-  
sists him.

The Earl of Danby, Lord High Treasurer, and Finch the Lord Chancellor, were both men of great abilities; but there was no man like the Earl of Clarendon, endued with sufficient courage and integrity to guide the helm of affairs at this critical juncture. That nobleman who had been such a benefactor to his country, had just finished his course at Rouen, in Normandy, in the sixty-fifth year of his age; and, nearly at the same time, John Milton, who, by his "Paradise Lost," has acquired an immortal name, although his reputation has suffered from the virulent part he acted in the civil war. He was Latin Secretary to the Long Parliament; and afterwards filled the same office for Cromwell. By his powerful pen he pleaded the cause of the Independents and Regicides, and assisted in the King's murder and the overthrow of the church. But it is, at last, grati-

Death of the  
Earl of Clarendon and John  
Milton.  
A. D. 1674.



SECTION IV. CHAP. III.  fying to reflect, that, at length, taught by long and melancholy experience, he returned to the bosom of the Church of England, and ended his days in the admiration and use of that Liturgy which he had assisted to proscribe.

Whilst the Prince of Orange was conducting the war with great skill and bravery, against the two celebrated Generals, the Prince of Condé and Marshal De Turenne, Sir William Temple was despatched as Ambassador extraordinary to mediate between the contending parties. In England the Popish party had made great progress in their designs. The letters of Coleman, the Duke's secretary, which afterwards came to light, are extraordinary documents, and fully expose to view, the schemes and intentions of the Romanists. One extract will be sufficient to shew their lofty expectations at this time. It is taken from a letter to the French King's confessor, Father Le Chése, "We have here a mighty work upon our hands, no less than the conversion of three kingdoms; and, by that, perhaps, the subduing of a PESTILENT HERESY, which has domineered over a great part of this northern world, a long time. There were never such hopes of success since the death of QUEEN MARY, as now in our days, when God has given us a Prince, who is become, (may I say a miracle) zealous of being the author and instrument of so GLORIOUS A WORK. But the opposition we are like to meet with is also likely



to be great, so that it imports us to get all the aid and assistance we can. For the harvest is great, and the labourers are few.”

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

Such were the hopes and prospects of the Romanists; but all their designs were to be baffled, in a manner, which may be justly considered as miraculous. Every step in our history discovers the counteracting power which was to frustrate and “confound” their devices, not framed on any preconcerted plan of human agency, but derived from incidents and arrangements, which sprung up without notice, or were educed, contrary to the expectations of all men, out of the indiscribable confusions and calamities of the times.

Amongst the many preferments of that period, must be mentioned that of Doctor Compton, son of the Earl of Northampton, who holds a distinguished place in the history of the civil war. This worthy prelate succeeded Doctor Hinchman, in the Bishopric of London. To him was confided, in a great measure, the education of the two Princesses, Mary and Anne, and to his care and fidelity must be attributed their enlightened judgment, and their inviolable attachment to Protestant principles, which, in after days, had such an extensive influence on the public prosperity and happiness.

Doctor Compton  
Bishop of  
London.

During the recess of Parliament, which had been prorogued for a whole year, a general dissatisfaction prevailed, and was expressed by pamphlets



SECTION IV. and libels, against the conduct of government and the increase of Popery. Proclamations were issued; but nothing could silence the fears and jealousy of the nation.

CHAP. III.

In the meantime, Sir William Temple had been indefatigable in the business of his mission. The Plenipotentiaries from the states of Europe had assembled at Nimeguen for the establishment of a general peace. The war however, was still continued, and the campaign ended in favour of the French arms, under the Marshal Schomberg.

Death of the  
Earl of Bristol.

Before the meeting of the English Parliament, which could no longer be procrastinated, George Digby, Earl of Bristol, ended his busy and adventurous career; having, with all his heroic and chivalrous exertions, performed nothing for his country worthy of record by the Historian.

On the meeting of Parliament, great heats and dissensions arose between the two Houses on matters of formality, which were speedily silenced by the King's adjourning them to a future period. But the congress of Nimeguen still continued their important sitting, whilst the Prince of Orange, in the conduct of the war, continued to display that foresight, courage, and firmness, which distinguished him above all the Generals of the age. And the destiny of England in connexion with this great Prince, began rapidly to unfold itself. He had hitherto resisted the solicitations of his family and his country, and pleading the dangers



and distractions of war, refused to turn his thoughts towards a matrimonial alliance. But at length, after serious deliberation with Sir W. Temple, and anxious enquiries as to her education and religious principles, he fixed his mind upon the Princess Mary of England. And at the end of the campaign, embarked for England, for the purpose of conversing with her, and promoting his suit with the King, and her father, the Duke of York. On this occasion, the Prince discovered that magnanimity and greatness of soul for which he was so remarkable. The King and his ministers perceiving his heart was deeply engaged, endeavoured to detach him from the cause of his allies, and to enter into a negotiation for a separate peace with France. The Prince resolutely refused such dishonourable conditions; and declared, that "he would not sell his honour for a wife." Sir William Temple conveyed to the King, the Prince's dissatisfaction, and his intention of leaving England in two days, unless they agreed to an unfettered alliance. It was on this occasion, that the King said: "I never yet was deceived in judging of a man's honesty by his looks,"—of which he gave some examples—"and if I am not deceived in the Prince's face, he is the honestest man in the world. I will trust him and he shall have his wife, and you shall go immediately and tell my brother so, and that 'tis a thing I am resolved on." The Duke of York yielded a reluct-

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

Prince of  
Orange visits  
England.

A. D. 1677.



SECTION ant consent, and when Sir William Temple acquainted the Prince with the result of his negotiation, he was transported, and embracing him said, “ You have made me a very happy man, and, very unexpectedly.”

IV.  
CHAP. III.

Married to  
the Princess  
Mary.

When the news of his success reached Holland, it was received with universal joy; and a public edict was passed expressive of their satisfaction. The dispatch which conveyed it did not reach England till late on the fourth of November, the Prince's birth-day, and, at midnight the marriage took place, at St. James Chapel, about the time of the discovery of the gunpowder plot, and by a remarkable coincidence, was celebrated next day, with great rejoicings in London.

After his marriage the Prince entered, with his usual vigour, on the subject of the treaty of peace, and Ambassadors were sent both to France and Spain with the result of their deliberations.

Dean Tillotson.

This alliance was so gratifying to the Protestant spirit of the nation, that the city of London determined to make a grand demonstration; and to invite the Prince and Princess to a magnificent banquet. But the court was jealous of such a display, and to prevent it, their departure from London was ordered with great precipitation. It was on this occasion, that the future King of England formed an acquaintance with Doctor Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury, which was afterwards attended with important consequences. The Prince



arrived at Canterbury without his baggage and attendants; and Monsieur Bentinck, who accompanied them, applied to the mayor and corporation for their plate and a supply of money for their accommodation, which was unmannerly refused. The Dean no sooner heard of this, than he waited upon the Prince with a supply of plate and money, at the same time, inviting them to take up their residence at the Deanery. The frankness and generosity of the Dean was highly pleasing to the Prince, who, from that time entertained a high regard for him, which ripening into friendship, influenced the elevation of one to the Archbishopric, and the other to the Throne.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

But many a long and tedious step was yet to be taken. This year concluded with the death of the excellent Archbishop of Canterbury, in the eightieth year of his Age. He was no less distinguished by his learning and piety, than by his munificence and charity. His name is immortalized in connexion with that great work, the theatre of Oxford, and it appeared from his book of memorandums, that from the time he was appointed Bishop of London, to his death, he expended in pious and charitable uses the sum of £66,000. He was succeeded in his high station by Doctor William Sancroft, Dean of St. Paul's, who was promoted to that high station by the force of character, without any solicitation or expectation of his own.

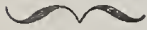
Death of the  
Archbishop.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.



A continuation of the sixteenth Session of the second Parliament, met on the fifteenth of January, which began by a generous act of loyalty, in voting “the sum of £70,000 for a solemn funeral for his late Majesty King Charles I, and to erect a monument for the said Prince of glorious memory,” after which, they urged the King to a separate alliance with Holland, and to an immediate declaration of war against France. Whilst these subjects occupied the attention of Parliament, during this and the succeeding session, the congress of Nimeguen brought its labours to a satisfactory conclusion.

The Popish  
Plot.  
A. D. 1678.

After the peace of Christendom had been thus established, the hearts of all men seemed to revive. The jealousies and contentions of the nations appeared to cease. The arts of peace were studied. Riches and prosperity abounded. The court abandoned itself to its usual gaiety and dissipation, and the Popish faction contemplated an uninterrupted and successful prosecution of their designs, when, on a sudden, the political sky was overcast with clouds and darkness, and the minds of all men filled with dismay. This was the discovery, as it was at that time designated by Parliament, of a “hellish Plot,” or conspiracy of the Papists, for the purpose of assassinating the King, burning the cities of London and Westminster, and concluding with a general massacre of the Protestants.



However deep-laid and desperate the designs of the Papists, happily for the honour of human nature, the principal parts of this plot was a fabrication of two individuals of infamous memory. The first was Doctor Tongue, a man of great parts and learning—full of projects—a person of great penetration—acquainted with all the movements of the Popish party, and a strenuous opponent of their designs. The other was Titus Oates, a man of infamous character, who, after abjuring popery, and joining himself to every sect and description of people, fell into great poverty and distress. It was under these circumstances that he sought the charitable assistance of Doctor Tongue, who, finding him a person of quick understanding, and ready for any enterprize, retained him to assist him in his inquiries into the schemes of the papists.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. III.  
Its projectors.

The Doctor by some means had obtained possession of the letters of Coleman, and, very naturally, concluded from their contents, that some plot must be in agitation amongst them. It was therefore agreed, that Oates should reconcile himself to the Church of Rome, enter himself of the society of the Jesuits, visit their foreign seminaries and places of resort, acquaint himself with their projects, and make himself familiar with the names of their chief leaders. The industrious agent soon returned, laden with the necessary information, and such as he knew would be pleasing to his employer. Out of those materials, true, exaggerated



SECTION IV. CHAP. III. and false, a regular plot was framed, consisting of forty-three articles and implicating many noble individuals in the conspiracy with all the circumstances of time and place. Such was the art with which these articles were drawn up, and, such the desperate resolution with which Oates adhered to the statements contained in them, that the Lord Treasurer, Danby, was impressed with the truth of his narrative. The King was altogether incredulous, from a full conviction that the papists would not conspire against the life of one, whom they knew to be their friend in all sincerity. Not so, the public, when they became acquainted with it through the depositions of Titus Oates, which were sworn before Sir E. Godfrey. Many persons implicated in these depositions were immediately arrested—the principal of whom were Sir George Wakeman, physician to the Queen, and Mr. Edward Coleman, Secretary to the Duke of York. The work of falsehood had now commenced in earnest, but what would have been the result, it is impossible to say, had not an incident occurred which threw the whole nation into an ecstasy of resentment and fury. This was the murder of Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, which was immediately imputed to the papists, as a proof both of their guilt and cruelty.

Parliament believes the Plot. In the midst of these transactions, Parliament met, and took up the subject with an enthusiasm, worthy of a better substantiated cause. Every



thing sworn to by Titus Oates, was received as solemn truth; and, an address was voted to the King, in a strain of unbounded loyalty and affection. Such was their implicit belief of the existence of a horrid Plot, and such the vehemence of wrath, that the King was obliged to yield to their will, and affected to believe their representations.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.


Coleman is  
executed.

It would be tedious to enter into a detail of this enormous tragedy. The original contrivers of it acted their parts, so effectually, that the unhappy Coleman, whose letters had given a foundation for the invention of the Plot, was tried, condemned and executed as a principal Conspirator—a fate indeed which he merited upon the testimony of his own correspondence, as a conspirator against the religion and liberties of his country, although, no doubt, he abhorred the wicked designs imputed to him by Titus Oates, and his companions. The Queen's physician escaped; but three others soon fell the victims of their perjury.

For a time the fury of the people and the Parliament, was diverted by the excitement of a court intrigue, in which the Duke of Monmouth, the Earls of Shaftesbury and Essex, and the Duchess of Portsmouth were the principal actors. This was the intended ruin of the Earl of Danby, who had made himself obnoxious to the French party, by his determined opposition to all foreign counsels, and by his truly British and patriotic conduct. They resolved to effect their purpose,

A court in-  
trigue.



SECTION by the exposure of certain official letters which he  
 IV. had written to the English Ambassador in France,  
 CHAP. III. containing stipulations respecting French money ;  
 and, although confirmed by the King's signature,  
 they were produced before the House, and filled  
 the members with great resentment. The Earl  
 was forthwith impeached at the bar of the Lords ;  
 but the whole proceeding was checked by the  
 sudden prorogation of Parliament.

The Earl of  
 Shaftesbury  
 patronizes the  
 Plot.  
 A. D. 1679.

During the prorogation, the vacillating and un-  
 principled Earl of Shaftesbury, who, all along,  
 had taken such an active and prominent part in  
 political affairs, had now made up his mind and  
 taken his resolution, to resist the Court and the  
 Popish faction, and to throw all his force into the  
 opposite scale.

It was soon evident that the plot was now taken  
 up by a virulent party in the state, at the head of  
 which, was this restless and vindictive nobleman.  
 During the recess of Parliament, he became the  
 powerful abettor of the plot, examined witnesses,  
 and by threats and promises, endeavoured to ex-  
 tort from them, the confession of things of which  
 they were ignorant. Nothing could be more out-  
 rageous and arbitrary, than his conduct. But he  
 was not to succeed. His actions were not ap-  
 proved of by that just power who will not permit  
 even the best ends to be sought by wicked means.  
 His design was to secure the Protestant interest,  
 and the liberties of his country, by the exclusion



of the Duke of York from the throne. He acted upon the law of expediency, but his conduct was flagrant and unjustifiable; and produced results just the reverse of what he intended. Other leading Politicians united with him in all his designs, and such was the outcry raised against the measures of the court, that the King was roused to a sense of the danger to which his crown and dignity were exposed; and conducted himself, at this trying juncture, with a prudence and energy which were never surpassed by any Monarch of any age or kingdom. The unexpected and vigorous resistance of the Sovereign power was successful. The turbulence of the popular leaders was subdued, their machinations turned upon their own heads, the dangers which threatened their country were averted, and the constitution saved, in a most signal manner, by the manifest Providence of God.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.


These are now the grand subjects before us. In order, if possible, to put a final stop to the impeachment of the Earl of Danby, which would have led to discoveries highly prejudicial to the royal character, the King determined on the dissolution of Parliament; and, the more effectually, to secure his servant, granted him a pardon under the great seal, which on the hesitation of the Lord Chancellor, he affixed with his own hand.

The King  
takes a decisive  
character.

Thus ended the most famous Parliament that ever sat in England:—having passed more im-

Character of  
the Parliament



SECTION IV. CHAP. III.  portant acts, and continued, by eighteen prorogations and several adjournments, for seventeen years, eight months, and seventeen days.

Duke of York  
banished.

Scarcely had the elections ceased, which had been carried on under the excitement of the "Popish plot" and the horrors of a Popish succession, and every thing prognosticated that the succeeding Parliament would be more inveterate than the last. But the King, by a bold stroke, determined to disarm the overflowing zeal of the country party, and banished his brother the Duke of York from the kingdom. The King's wish was conveyed to him in a kind and affectionate letter, desiring him for the peace and welfare of the kingdom, to leave the country till a more happy period should arrive.

Case of the  
Earl of Danby.

But in vain. The Commons were gratified, but not appeased. They pursued a more violent course than even their predecessors; which they discovered in nothing more, than in their determined persecution of the Earl of Danby. They took up his impeachment from the last Parliament. He pleaded the King's pardon. They declared it null and void. The House of Lords appointed a day for the purpose of his pleading the validity of his pardon; but the Commons passed a resolution, that if any person should attempt to appear as counsel, in his behalf, he should be considered a "Traitor and betrayer of the liberties of his country." This was cruel, vindic-



tive, and arbitrary. Nor can their conduct be attributed to any patriotic motive; for whatever might have been the faults of that nobleman, his further persecution could be of no advantage to their country.

SECTION

IV.


CHAP. III.

By the removal of the Earl of Danby, the King was plunged into the greatest difficulty and perplexity. He was roused to exertion by the danger to which he saw the Government and country were exposed; and, in this emergency he had recourse to the wisdom and advice of Sir W. Temple, one of the many great patriots England has produced. His advice was an oracle. He was possessed of a capacious understanding, an extensive knowledge of men and things, and an invincible integrity. He saw the influence which had been acquired by the Duke of Monmouth, the Earls of Essex and Sunderland, and the Duchess of Portsmouth, and that they were striking for the crown. To extricate the King from his difficulties, and save the country from anarchy and blood-shed, he recommended the formation of a Council, which should be of a grand and comprehensive character, and include the most talented and powerful of the nobility and Commons. It was to consist of thirty persons, half of whom were to be the present chief officers of the crown and household, who being in his Majesty's known trust as well as choice, would be sure to keep the rest of the Council steady to the interest of the

Crisis of the  
Government.



SECTION IV. Monarchy. One chief regard which he had in the constitution of this Council, was the personal state and riches of its members, which is said to have amounted to £300,000 a year, whilst the revenue of the Commons did not exceed £400,000. This scheme which introduced a new power into the constitution was approved of by the King, and, when it became known, filled the minds of all men with astonishment. The Lord Chancellor Finch, when he heard of it, said: "It looked like a thing from Heaven fallen into the King's breast." The Earls of Essex and Sunderland, and the Lord Halifax, one of the most talented men of the day, were the chief of this Council in concert with Sir W. Temple; and the Earl of Shaftesbury, at the wish of the King, was appointed Lord President.

CHAP. III.  
  
 —  
 Wise counsel  
 of  
 Sir. W. Temple

The establishment of the new Council was received with universal demonstrations of joy. In Holland, on receiving the news, the stocks of the East India Company immediately rose; and the States despatched an extraordinary Ambassador into England on the occasion. France, alone, was dissatisfied with it; and their Ambassador, Barillon said: "It was making STATES, not COUNCILS."

Patriotism of the King. The great subject of debate, both in the nation and Parliament, was the succession to the crown in the person of the Duke of York, and the minds of all men were filled with anxiety and apprehen-



sion. The King foregoing all his prejudices and predilections, with a patriotism without a parallel in the history of Kings, agreed to the suggestions of his Council; and assisted them to solve the difficulty of this grand political problem—to render it possible, for a Popish King to rule over a Protestant nation. In short the King gave up every thing but the “hereditary succession,” which was agreed by all parties to be a fundamental principle of the government, and the great land-mark of the Monarchy. He proposed to the House of Commons, through the Lord Chancellor, to prepare a Bill for the purpose of placing all Ecclesiastical, naval and military appointment, in the hands of Commissioners; and to enact that no Lords or others of the Privy Council, no Judges of the common law or in chancery, should at any time, during the reign of a Popish successor, be put in, or displaced, but by the authority of Parliament; and, to give the strongest proof of his sincerity, he concluded by saying: “If any thing else can occur to the wisdom of Parliament which may further secure religion and liberty against a Popish successor, without defeating the right of succession itself, his Majesty will most readily assent to it.”

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

Limitations of  
the Monarchy.

It was impossible, under the circumstances of the case, to have devised any thing more satisfactory, than these limitations of the Sovereign power; and the rejection of these reasonable propo-



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.



sals, through the opposition of the Earl of Shaftesbury, must be considered as one of those extraordinary events which lead to the most important results, by means utterly beyond the design or controul of human agency: and it would be unpardonable blindness, if we did not perceive the hand of Heaven, which can take advantage both of the mistakes and crimes of mortals, controuling the events of the time, and working out a signal deliverance for us, without endangering the Monarchy, or, undermining the liberties of the nation.

The Commons  
reject them.

The Commons rejected the limitations, and after addressing the King on the dangers to be apprehended from the growth and insolence of Popery, they brought in a Bill for the exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne, and were proceeding with another for his banishment, when they were suddenly prorogued. Such an interruption to their debates, filled both Houses with resentment, and such was the ungovernable rage of the Earl of Shaftesbury, that he cried out in the House, that he would have the heads of those who advised it. Nor were his menaces confined to words, nor his machinations limited to England. He fostered and encouraged the old fanatical spirit in Scotland, which had been restrained by the strong hand of power. Through his instrumentality, the visionary impulse again spread with incredible rapidity, and kindled every



where the fire of rebellion. They began at their conventicles, openly to display their colours, which they called the banner of JESUS CHRIST. Their preachers animated them to the glorious struggle. They told their excited audience: "That it was the time of their deliverance, when God would take vengeance on their enemies, only they must repent and be strong, and of great courage, and fight the battles of the Lord, manfully."

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

Nor did these vain delusions expend themselves in empty declamations. Their threatenings were loud and vehement, and they prepared lists of those marked out for destruction, at the head of which, was the name of the "perjured apostate" Bishop Sharpe, as they termed the Archbishop of St. Andrews.—Nor was it long before the bloody tragedy was enacted.

On the second of May, the Archbishop who had been assisting at the Privy Council at Edinburgh, passed over into Fifeshire, and lodged that night, at a village between Burns' Head and St. Andrews. His movements were watched; and, about midnight, two men well mounted and armed, were observed entering the village, and having ascertained, that the Archbishop was there, presently rode away. The next morning, the venerable Prelate, not suspecting any danger, entered his carriage with his only Daughter, attended by three servants. For sometime they pursued their journey without interruption, and they had now

Murder of  
Archbishop  
Sharpe  
A. D. 1679.



SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.



arrived within two miles of Saint Andrews, when they perceived behind them a number of horsemen in pursuit. They perceived their danger, and the coachman drove with full speed; and would have escaped, but for one of the ruffians named Balfour, who, riding an extremely fleet horse came up with the carriage, and shot one of the horses dead, wounded the postilion, and with savage fury hamstringed the rest. Their victim was now in their power. The rest of the murderers soon came up, and one of them more vehement than the rest, shot his pistol into the coach, but without effect. The blood-thirsty gang now crowded around, covering him with execrations, and calling him "Dog," "Apostate," "Betrayer of the godly," "Persecutor of Christ's Church,"—bidding him come out, and receive the due reward of his wickedness against the Kirk of Scotland. The door being opened, his daughter rushing out, fell on her knees, and implored the life of her father; but they were deaf to her entreaties, trampled upon her, and wounded her. By this time the Bishop had also alighted, and with a firm and composed air, said; "He was not conscious that he had offended them; but if he had, he was ready to make reparation. He implored them to consider before they brought the guilt of innocent blood upon their heads, and besought them to spare his life, giving them his word, that no inquiry should be made after this violence." During this expos-

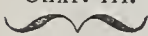


tulation, there was a moment for recollection; and the assassins, struck with the reverence of his appearance, and the composure of his carriage, in some measure relented; and one of them cried out, “spare his grey hairs,” but others replied; “He must die: the traitorous Judas, enemy to God’s people, must now receive the reward of his apostasy.”

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. III.

The Archbishop perceiving the ruffians were bent upon his destruction, requested a few moments for prayer, saying, “*he would pray for them,*” but they reviled him, and scornfully said. “They cared not for his prayers; they were sure God would not hear so base a dog as he was.” Thus insulted, he turned to one of his assassins who appeared somewhat superior in his carriage, and said: “Sir, you are a gentlemen, I ask my last favour of you.—Since you are resolved to take my life, I intreat you to have pity upon my poor child, and take her under your protection; and, as a pledge, give me your hand,” at the same moment extending his own, which the inhuman wretch almost cut off with his broad-sword, and with another blow gave him a deep wound over his eye, which brought him upon his knees. “Gentlemen,” he said, “it is enough, you have done your work.” Then lifting up his bleeding hands as well as he was able, he prayed “Lord Jesus have mercy upon me, and receive my spirit.” During which time, they ceased not to strike the venerable sup-



SECTION IV.  
 CHAP. III.  pliant, who fell on the earth with his head resting upon his arm, and expired with these words: "God forgive you: I forgive you all." Thus perished Sharpe, Archbishop of Saint Andrews, —a victim to fanatical fury, and to the violence, not of christian zeal, but demoniacal influence.

After the murder of such an illustrious person, and in such a public and daring manner, the perpetrators saw that nothing was left them but open rebellion, a course, which was to bring upon them the punishment which their crimes deserved. They were soon in arms, and at their first encounter, repulsed a body of horse under Lord Dundee, which so much encouraged the whole body of the "Covenanters," that in a short time they amounted to seventeen thousand men.

His Death is  
 avenged.

The Duke of Monmouth was despatched from London, with such forces as could be spared, and joining with the Scotch forces, came up with the rebels at Bothwell Bridge, and entirely defeated them. A thousand of these deluded men perished in the field, twelve hundred were taken prisoners and the murderers of Archbishop Sharpe were executed.

Whilst the sword was inflicting these ravages in Scotland, in England the tribunal of justice was made the instrument of promoting the purposes of falsehood and perjury. The five Jesuits who had been implicated in the "Popish plot," were now brought to trial; and on the evidence



of Oates and his accomplices, condemned and SECTION  
executed. IV.

These executions troubled the spirit of the King; but he had other troubles which pressed more heavily upon him. The time appointed for the meeting of Parliament, approached; and such was the favour in which the Duke of Monmouth was held at that time, and such the influence of the Earl of Shaftesbury with the leaders of the Commons, that it was thought adviseable by the intimate advisers of the Crown to dissolve the Parliament.

CHAP. III.

Parliament  
dissolved.

Scarcely had this been done, when the Almighty ruler interfered, and a sudden change took place in the posture of public affairs. The King fell suddenly ill of the ague. The three Lords, Sunderland, Essex and Halifax were then at Windsor, and the two last perceiving the peril to be apprehended to their own persons, from the Duke of Monmouth, then in the meridian of his power, sent a secret express to Holland for the Duke of York.

The King falls  
sick.

The King recovered, but the Duke of York on his arrival, being fully assured of the ambitious designs of the Duke of Monmouth, made such representations to his Majesty, that he was immediately dismissed from his office of Captain General, and banished into Holland, whilst the Duke of York had leave to retire into Scotland. This extraordinary change in public affairs, which took

Duke of  
Monmouth  
banished.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.



Other great  
changes.

place contrary to the political wishes of its promoters, was the first step which secured the succession of James II. Nor was this all : as if to render the circumstance more remarkable, the Earls of Essex and Halifax, who, instigated by their fears, had promoted the return of the Duke of York, lost their places. For, not daring to meet the Parliament, they prevailed upon the King peremptorily to prorogue it, contrary to the advice of his council. Great changes immediately followed. These two Lords were obliged to retire from office. The Earl of Shaftesbury in a rage resigned his place. The Lords Russel and Cavendish, Sir Henry Capel and Mr. Pool followed his example. Mr. Laurence Hyde and Mr. Sydney Godolphin were united with the Earl of Sunderland, and formed the Ministry.

Popish counter  
Plot.

Scarcely had these changes in the Council been effected, than a discovery was made of a counter-plot by the Papists, to implicate the nonconformists in a design upon the life of the King. The Earl of Castlemain, the Lords in the Tower, and the Lady Powys, were the contrivers of this Plot, which was discovered before it was ripe for execution. The plan of it was found concealed in a meal-tub, from which circumstance it has derived its name. This dark and guilty intrigue gave new life and vigour to the grand plot, which, it was intended by its framers to subvert.



In the midst of the prevailing confusions, and whilst the people were deeply agitated with the late attempt of the Papists, suddenly the Duke of Monmouth returned to England; and, although it was midnight when he entered the City, the tidings soon spread, the bells rung, bonfires were lighted, and the people testified their joy in the most exulting manner. Every thing seemed to prognosticate violent measures, and the country appeared on the eve of a convulsion. Tumultuous petitions were resorted to, and presented to the King in multitudes, requesting him to call a Parliament for the redress of grievances, and the safety of the country. The King issued Proclamation after Proclamation for putting them down. But in vain. They still flowed in from every quarter, and seemed to menace the liberty of the executive, and the stability of the Throne. The confusion still increased, and the violence of the people seemed as if it would bear down all before it. But necessity found a remedy more effectual than the sword, and more lasting than Acts of Parliament. Men of wisdom and reflection saw whither the vessel of the state was driving, and came forward to her rescue. The old Cavalier party again returned to the struggle. Their services had been overlooked during this whole reign; but, when they saw the Monarchy in danger, by a violent exclusion of the rightful heir, and the designed election of a successor by the

SECTION IV.

CHAP. III.

Unexpected  
Return of the  
Duke of Mon-  
mouth.



SECTION IV. House of Commons, they generously forgot their own wrongs and came forward to the relief of the Constitution. But the greatest support of the throne, at this period, was the Church of England. The Ecclesiastical leaders and their adherents saw the reign of Fanaticism once more about to commence, which could not fail to lay both the national Altar and the constitutional Throne in the dust; and they rallied round the standard of freedom and the constitution.

CHAP. III.  
The Conservative Spirit roused.

The sober and monarchical portion of the community now awakened to the true interest of their country. They determined if possible, to prevent the recurrence of those bloody and anarchical scenes, which had so lately been enacted. They forwarded counter petitions, more weighty and powerful than those of the Exclusionists. The day was now won. The spirit of the English nation was evidently with the Prince, and, it was irresistible. From this moment a new and powerful principle was established in our constitutional policy, which has never ceased to exercise a powerful and controuling influence in the national counsels.—I mean, PUBLIC OPINION; and, it is to this period, and these circumstances, that we are to trace the origin of Whig and Tory.

The “Tories” firm to the Monarchy, although they were willing to accept, and, even, proposed serious limitations on a Popish successor, yet, they would not hear of an entire exclusion.



Such a remedy they said was worse than the disease, and would admit such an irregularity into the constitution as might never be remedied. Nor did they think it just to visit with such heavy punishment a Prince who had never offended. The "Whigs" on the other hand, less affected to the Monarchical principle, were for securing their religion and liberties by any means. They pursued the law of expediency, which is always a dangerous and delusive guide. Nothing would satisfy them but the exclusion of the Duke of York. Providentially, both parties were overruled. The limitations were rejected, and the exclusionists were disappointed. Had these prevailed, the Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate Son of the King's would have been placed upon the Throne,—which would have been a disgrace to the British nation, and the source of interminable jealousies, contentions, and blood-shed. Had the limitations been carried, the essential dignity and authority of the Crown would have been destroyed.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

Character of  
the Whigs and  
Tories.

But Heaven determined otherwise for the happiness and welfare of this country, and, for the display of a more signal vengeance on the head of that false and arbitrary power, which has usurped a dictatorial power over the rights and liberties of mankind; and scorning to regulate its acts by the ordinary rules of morality and religion, assumes a high and divine prerogative, which can, at its pleasure, dispense with the ordinary laws,

The designs  
of God unfold  
themselves.



SECTION and reasonable arrangements of society. This  
 IV. unearthly power was destined to receive the most  
 CHAP. III. signal overthrow that it had ever experienced.  
 The policy of the Tories was proved by the events  
 that followed, to be correct, because founded on  
 principle and justice. Perhaps, their views at  
 this period, respecting "passive obedience and non-  
 resistance" were carried to an unwarrantable ex-  
 treme. But the history of that time has placed  
 that rule, and its exception, in its proper light.  
 It has discovered that the rule is safe, but that it  
 has an exception—OVERPOWERING NECESSITY—  
 when not a doubt remains, that the Sovereign  
 power has a design to overthrow the Laws, and,  
 with them, the constitutional rights and liberties  
 of the subject. The "Revolution" which is now  
 the grand object before us, and, to which every  
 event was tending, has settled that point. The  
 rights of Kings and subjects are held by the  
 same tenure. Under divine sanction, the rights  
 of both are guarded by Law. But if the Law  
 be violated with a *design*, of subverting the legal  
 rights of either party—Reason, religion, and, the  
 constitution provide for a steady and dignified re-  
 sistance, founded on LAW and directed by JUSTICE.

Conduct of  
 the Duke of  
 Monmouth.  
 A. D. 1680.

The Duke of Monmouth having ventured upon  
 such a bold step as to return from Holland with-  
 out permission, had not yet appeared at Court,  
 but visited the principal nobility attached to his  
 party, and was every where received with dis-



tinguished marks of favour. This conduct was sufficiently bold; but it was far out-done by his friend and associate the Earl of Shaftesbury, who, with many other gentlemen of rank and influence appeared at the bar of the King's Bench, and with all legal formality, presented the Duke of York as a popish recusant. This bold and surprising act produced a great effect upon the public mind; and, though the presentment was overruled by the Judge, the Duke thought proper once more to retire into Scotland, from whence he had lately returned.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

The fourth Parliament of the reign was opened on the twenty-first of October, by the King, in a speech of great wisdom and moderation, in which he yielded every thing which could be expected from a good and patriotic Prince. But such was the excitement of the period, and such the horrors of Popery and its designs, that the House directed all its time and attention to the subject. Hosts of informers appeared to second their wishes. Many were supplied from Ireland; and Doctor Plunket, the *Titular* Primate of Ireland, was brought over to be tried for High Treason. The King was obliged to yield to their vehemence. But nothing could satisfy them, and they proceeded, once more, to the Bill of exclusion. The debate was carried on with great warmth and eloquence on both sides; but the Bill, although opposed by the King in the most unequivocal

The Commons are vehement.



SECTION vocal yet conciliating manner, passed the Com-  
 IV. mons and was carried to the Lords by Lord  
 CHAP. III. William Russel, where after a long and masterly  
 debate it was thrown out by a large majority.

They become  
 arbitrary,

The Commons were perfectly enraged at the miscarriage of their great measure. They persecuted with all their authority, those who had forwarded counter petitions to the King. The liberty of the subject was every day violated by their arbitrary and capricious commitments. Their fury raged. And such was the terror inspired by their proceedings, that the Judges did not dare to allow the benefit of the "Habeas Corpus" to the delinquents. Nor would this satisfy. The aged Lord Stafford, one of the five Popish Lords confined in the Tower, on the accusation of Oates and other informers, was now brought forth, tried, condemned and executed. This was the last blood that was shed on account of the "Popish Plot." Nor was the day of retribution far distant. The perpetrators of these perjuries were not to escape.

and are dis-  
 solved.

But the Commons were still unappeased: and the King after trying every conciliatory measure, perceiving there was no end to their violence, prorogued and dissolved them. A new Parliament assembled at Oxford, where the King appeared with his royal consort, in great magnificence and state. His opening speech was marked with great moderation, and he advanced one step fur-



ther in his attempts to conciliate his Parliament, which was, to offer, in case of a Popish successor  
—A PROTESTANT REGENCY.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

But the Commons were deaf to every proposition except their own. They began their debates where the last Parliament ended; and although they condescended to appoint a Committee, to take into consideration the King's suggestion, they proceeded as violently as ever with the Bill of Exclusion, and with complaints and impeachments against all who opposed their measures.

Never did a Monarch discover more moral courage than King Charles at this eventful crisis. Whilst the House of Commons were in the midst of their debates, the King suddenly appeared in the House of Lords and dissolved the Parliament.

The King's  
vigorous con-  
duct.

A. D. 1681.

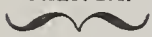
The abrupt dissolution of the Parliament was followed by a royal declaration in that vigorous style, which characterized the State productions of this period. It enumerated all the unreasonable acts of the two last Parliaments, and shewed the necessity of dissolving them, in order to save the fundamental principles of the constitution. It was read in all the Churches, and was received with the greatest satisfaction by the nation. The counter statements were published by the Exclusionists and the adherents of Parliament. But they did not prevail. The people of England declared for the King. Addresses poured in from all quarters, from cities, counties, and corpora-



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.



tions, offering “their lives and fortunes in defence of his Majesty’s government in Church and State.”

The nation seemed almost unanimous in their opinion; and the Exclusion party found themselves unable to resist it. A new power was created, and the press, from this moment, began to exercise a systematic influence upon the public mind. Regular papers were established. The “Domestic Intelligence” advocated the views of the Whigs, or, Exclusion Party. Mr. L’Estrange in his “Observator” upheld the principles of the Tories, or Cavalier Party. But Mr. Dryden’s satirical poem entitled “Absalom and Ahitophel” in which he exposed the designs of the Earl of Shaftesbury, exercised the greatest influence and produced a strong impression on the minds of both parties.

Character of  
the Duke of  
Ormond.

Nor was the King wanting in gratitude to his friends. Lawrence Hyde, first Commissioner of the Treasury was appointed a Viscount; and Heneage Finch, Lord High Chancellor, was made Earl of Nottingham. Nor was the Duke of Ormond overlooked, who, from the time of the famous “Cabal” had been in disgrace. He was, undoubtedly, one of the most upright and patriotic men, whose name adorns the page of English history. Indeed, such was the integrity and dignity of his character, that, during the time his enemies had the ascendancy, whenever he appeared at Court, the King, whose manners were

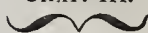


fashioned for every emergency, found himself at a loss how to demean himself,—afraid to shew him any civility, and ashamed altogether to neglect him. This hesitation of manner was perceived by the Duke of Buckingham, who, one day observed to the King: “Sir, I wish to know whether it be the Duke of Ormond that is out of favour with your Majesty, or, your Majesty, with the Duke of Ormond? for, of the two you seem most out of countenance.” This anecdote is a splendid eulogium on the Duke of Ormond’s character, who was now appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In this arduous appointment he conducted himself with the strictest impartiality; and, with such vigour, that Ireland was never in a more tranquil and happy state. It was during this part of his career that he was attacked with great virulence by the Earl of Shaftesbury in the House of Lords, and was nobly defended by his son, the generous Earl of Ossory, who having justified many points of his father’s administration, proceeded in the following keen and eloquent strain: “Having spoken of what the Lord Lieutenant has done, I presume, with the same truth, to tell your Lordships what he has not done; he never advised the breaking of the “Triple League:” he never advised the shutting up of the Exchequer; he never advised the declaration for a toleration; he never advised the falling out with the Dutch and the joining with the French; he was not the

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.





SECTION author of that most excellent proposition "De-  
 IV. lenda est Carthago," that Holland, a Protestant  
 CHAP. III. eountry, should, contrary to the true interests of  
 England, be totally destroyed. I beg your Lord-  
 ships will be so just as to judge of my father, and  
 all men, according to their actions and conduct."

We are told that these few sentences had a surprising effect upon the House, and totally confounded the Earl of Shaftesbury who, with all his wit and eloquence was unable to reply. Nay, the Prince of Orange, wrote a letter to the Earl of Ossory, whom he highly esteemed as a brave and excellent soldier, to congratulate him on this new species of victory which he had obtained.

Great disor-  
 ders prevail.

The King's character, at this time received a strong and marked impression from the circumstances of his situation. He became more determined in his opposition to the popular leaders, more vigorous and more severe. And now many of them had well-nigh become the victims of their own imprudence and ambition. Great efforts were made to bring them to trial, especially the Earl of Shaftesbury, who had been committed to prison on a charge of High Treason. But his time was not yet come, and he escaped, through the peculiar circumstances of the times. Every thing was decided by party interest, and the Exclusionists had such a commanding influence in the city, that the Juries refused to convict, and the Sheriffs to act, and, however guilty the criminals, of their



party, they were allowed to escape. The govern- SECTION  
ment, supported by the mind of the country, tried IV.  
every expedient to break the power of this combi- CHAP. III.  
nation against law and justice. But, for a long  
time, their efforts were vain.

At length, however the disease became too des-  
perate to be permitted to exist: and as these evils  
flowed from the Sheriffs, the Tory party deter-  
mined, if possible, to restore the ancient mode of  
electing them. The ancient custom had been for the  
Lord Mayor, who was now in the Tory interest, to  
elect one Sheriff by drinking his health at an annual  
dinner, and to leave the other to the election of  
the several Companies; whereas, at present, both  
were elected by the suffrages of the Companies.  
It was difficult to rectify the innovation, and the  
struggle was conducted with a vehemence such  
as might be expected from men, who were con-  
tending for Empire. The King and his Council  
were not indifferent spectators, but exerted all the  
influence they could command, and the Tories  
triumphed, two Sheriffs were elected, one by the  
nomination of the Lord Mayor, and the other, by  
their own suffrages.

Struggle of  
Parties.  
A. D. 1682.

Nor was this all. The Tories triumphed also The Tories  
in the election of Lord Mayor at the ensuing prevail.  
Michaelmas, when Sir W. Pritchard was raised  
to the civic chair. The Whig or exclusion party  
were entirely broken and dispirited by these vi-  
gorous measures; and, their great leader, the



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.



Earl of Shaftesbury, disappointed and overruled in all his projects, determined upon more desperate measures and hastened his own ruin. Finding that he could no longer be shielded from the forms of law by the connivance of the Sheriffs and Jurors, having concerted with the other factious leaders, the most guilty and treasonable measures, he retired to Holland.

Punishment  
of the Cove-  
nanters.

In the mean time Scotland was suffering a signal retribution. Such were the severities exercised under the administration of the Earl of Aberdeen and the Earl of Queensbury, that great numbers prepared to leave their native country. Two thousand people were outlawed under the pretence of having intercourse with traitorous persons. Courts were established, and agents sent forth to trepan the innocent and peaceable inhabitants. A signal vengeance overtook the false and perjured Covenanters—the abettors of rebellion, and the subverters of the Christian Religion. They were hunted out by the Soldiers and agents of arbitrary power, and ensnared with such questions as the following: “Will you renounce the Covenant?” “Was the killing of Archbishop Sharpe, murder?” and when the deluded victims of a deluded spirit, refused to answer, they were secured, and, in many cases, suffered capital punishment. Even women, steeped with the spirit of fanatical obstinacy, which was mistaken for Christian firmness, were consigned to the gibbet,



whilst, to increase the evil, and to draw down still heavier punishment, many of them, made frantic by persecution, published a declaration in which they renounced their allegiance to Charles Stuart. Soldiers were dispersed every where, in quest of the unhappy people, and all commissioned Officers, even to the lowest grade, were empowered to compel their renunciation of the "Declaration," or, upon refusal, to shoot the delinquents! Enormous cruelties were enacted by these legalized murderers, and, although manifestly the inflictions of a just Providence, for the profaneness of acts and sentiments which they falsely attributed to the influence of Christianity, yet the abettors of these enormities, in which the Duke of York had a great share, were, at no distant period, subjected to a retributory chastisement.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

In England every thing tended to a crisis. The reins of Government were held with a much stricter hand than at any former period of the reign. The clubs and conventicles of the disaffected, were suppressed, so that they were driven to more secret counsels and contrivances. The Government was judiciously strengthened by great preferments and conferring of titles of honour. The profound Earl of Sunderland, by the King's command, was again re-appointed principal Secretary of State. Halifax was made a Marquis, and Colonel John Churchill afterwards so great and celebrated in English History, was created Lord Churchill.

Strengthening  
of the  
Government.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

Death of  
Prince Rupert,

But whilst some were thus raised to distinction, and preparing to enter upon the busy stage of human affairs, others disappeared, and were gathered to their immortal destiny. Amongst these, was Prince Rupert, Son of the Queen of Bohemia, and grandson of James I. whose name will survive to the latest posterity in the records of England. This intrepid Prince, having spent the early part of his life in the most arduous and dangerous enterprises, which he conducted with a courage and magnanimity almost beyond example, dedicated the last portion of his valuable life to the studies of philosophy and science, and died in the midst of honour and reputation in the sixty third year of his age.

of the Duke  
of Lauderdale,

Nor must we omit the mention of another name of high title, of great activity and considerable parts, whose name is also essentially connected with English history, but not to his honour—the Duke of Lauderdale. He will be remembered for the share he took in the great Rebellion—as a traitor against his Sovereign—as a vehement supporter of the “Covenant,” and in the present reign, as a persecutor of the Presbyterians—a promoter of arbitrary Government, an underminer of Episcopacy, and the dislike of all men.

The Nation also suffered a great loss in the death of the Lord Chancellor Finch, Earl of Nottingham, whose abilities and character well fitted him for his high station, whose eulogium is given



in few words by Burnet: "His great parts and greater virtues were so conspicuous, that it would be a high presumption to say any thing in his commendation."

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

Sir Philip Warwick now also ended a useful and virtuous career. He was first selected by Bishop Juxon, to assist him in his duties when he was Lord High Treasurer. He afterwards accompanied the King in his exile. He was esteemed a man of great public spirit, of high honour and integrity, and superior to all the temptations of riches and preferment, and to his memoirs of Charles I. this History is much indebted.

of  
Sir P. Warwick

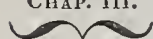
And the last to be mentioned in intimate connexion with the history, is the death of Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, one of the most extraordinary men of his day, formed by God with a capacity for mighty actions, which, indeed, he accomplished, not so much by design, as accident. But he was too unstable to excel. He was too subtle and wicked to arrive at honourable distinction. He was the author, or, occasion of most of the unjustifiable acts of this reign. He was selfish, temporizing and vindictive. When in power, the greatest tyrant; when out, the greatest incendiary. Arbitrary in the one case, and seditious in the other; affording in his conduct a striking illustration of his own observation: "That wisdom lay in the heart, and not in the head, and that it was not the want of knowledge,

and the Earl  
of Shaftesbury.



SECTION but the perverseness of the will, that filled mens  
 IV. minds with folly, and their lives with disorder.”

CHAP. III.



Notwithstanding this wise saying, which is worthy of a place in history, he lived without honour and died in voluntary exile, under a cloud of infamy. He fled his native soil to avoid the arm of justice; but he had scarcely reached the shores of Holland, when he was arrested by the hand of death, in the sixty-second year of his age; but the particulars attending it are unknown.

A formidable  
 Conspiracy.  
 A. D. 1683.

But although he was gone, yet the seeds of treason which he had scattered with such industry before his departure, now sprung up and produced a fatal harvest to many. The deep and desperate measures of this unprincipled man, were overruled, in order that the stability and glory of the British Monarchy might ultimately rest on deep and lasting foundations, yet many noble and distinguished persons fell a sacrifice to his treasonable projects. During the short period which elapsed between his arrival in Holland and his death, he was incessantly employed in encouraging his fellow conspirators to immediate action, and they were fatally attentive to his counsels. During his absence, and immediately after his death the Duke of Monmouth forgetting his high duty and the debt of gratitude he owed the King took charge of the hazardous and guilty enterprise. His associates were the Lord Grey



of Wark, who for some years, had been warmly engaged in the designs of the party, and, especially, since he found that his private crimes were not likely to pass unnoticed. Next, the Earl of Essex, whose high spirit and secret ambition had betrayed him into many dark designs, contrary to the advice and injunctions of his dying father. Next, the Lord Howard of Escrick, who had always been a busy promoter of republican projects and innovations, in Church and State: and, one regrets to add the name of the Lord Russel, a person eminent for his integrity and piety, but led astray from the path of duty by associating with men of unfixed principles, who, deluded him into the dangerous doctrine, "that resistance was lawful upon the lesser as well as the greater invasions of the constitution." Another, was Colonel Algernon Sydney, who had been deeply involved in the guilt of the late confusions, and had so far signalized himself in the "good old cause" that he was actually nominated one of the King's Judges, though he refused to act. And, lastly, John Hampden, who inherited the restless and innovating temper of the family, affording striking evidence of the truth of the maxim: "That the violent defence of the best things, is, generally, productive of pernicious consequences."

These were the principal promoters of the conspiracy. It would be tedious to mention the names of the inferior actors who were, generally,

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

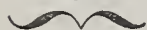
Names of the  
Conspirators.



SECTION bravoos and men of low and flagrant characters.

IV.

CHAP. III.



The design of the conspirators was two-fold. The grand subject of their deliberations was a general insurrection, the thirty-first of March, was the day determined upon for a general rising. But the most atrocious part of the plot was the assassination of the King, a project lately resolved upon by the inferior agents, without the concurrence of their leaders.

Every thing was now arranged. The King  
 Their Project, was at Newmarket. The house of one of the conspirators, between Newmarket and London, which the King must pass on his return, was fixed upon as the rendezvous of the assassins. This place was called the *Rye House*, within two miles of Hodsden in Hertfordshire, a place of some natural strength, and well suited to their purpose. They were already assembled, a barricade was to be placed across the road as soon as the King's approach was known. Forty of the boldest were selected to attack the King's guard, whilst the best marksmen were to direct their attention to the King and the Duke of York, and keep up a deadly fire upon the carriage.

All things were thus in a state of preparation,  
 frustrated, and the conspirators were anxiously awaiting the fatal hour,—when the whole design was frustrated by a remarkable interposition of Providence. It is one of those peculiar cases of divine interference, which carries its own evi-



dence along with it: and puts it out of the power of any reasonable being to dispute it.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

The King was at Newmarket unconsciously enjoying the diversions of the race course, and leading the way in mirth and dissipation, when a sudden and alarming fire broke out, which in the space of a few hours destroyed one half of the town. The King was obliged to leave his palace, and retire to a house so situated, as to be entirely out of the reach, not only of the flames but even of the dust and ashes. Finding himself so comfortably located, he determined to remain, and conclude the diversions of the week. But he had no sooner declared his resolution, than the wind, as if conducted by an invisible power, suddenly whirled round and blew the smoke and cinders directly on his new lodgings, and, in a moment, rendered them as untenable as the other. No other place could be found for his accommodation, and he immediately prepared for his departure to London, and with his royal brother passing the ambush of the conspirators without observation, arrived at Whitehall in safety.

by a providential  
Interposition.

Many of the inferior agents suffered for this daring plot; but nobler victims were sacrificed. The unfortunate Earl of Essex, soon after he had received a visit from the King and the Duke of York, stung with remorse and despair, put an end to his existence, in the very place, where he had taken his last leave of his admirable father the



SECTION IV.  
 CHAP. III. Lord Capel, and, where he had received from him a solemn injunction to adhere to the royal cause.

Trial of Lord  
 Russel.

But a still nobler victim, because a much better man, was now brought to trial and execution—the amiable Lord Russel, who persisted to the last in justifying the share he had taken in the conspiracy. He insisted on the lawfulness of resistance to constituted authority, on the invasion of the subjects rights; but of which he certainly had not formed any precise or definite views. On such vague grounds, his defence was unjustifiable; because it leaves every man, at his own discretion, not only to pass an opinion on such invasions, but to act as an avenger. A position with the establishment of which, society could not subsist. Dr. Burnet and Dean Tillotson attended him in prison, and used all their powers to convince him of his mistake. At that time, the most extravagant and unwarrantable views of “passive obedience and non-resistance,” obtained amongst all ranks of men. A circumstance which saved the country from anarchy, and which shews it to be a much safer doctrine than any undefined views of resistance. Dean Tillotson was deeply interested in the fate of the noble prisoner, and wrote an earnest letter to him on the subject, which lays down the doctrine of “non-resistance” in general terms, and declares the contrary principle to be inconsistent with the principles of



Christianity—contrary to the expressed doctrine of the Church of England, which declares “that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take up arms, &c.”—and inconsistent with the general doctrine of the Protestant Churches. But this was attempting to convince, more by authority than argument; and it failed to convey to the mind of this conscientious nobleman, a solution of the difficulty under which he laboured. The Dean’s letter so far influenced him, as to lead him to declare, “that he was now satisfied that nothing but a case of a very extraordinary nature could justify subjects in taking up arms against their Prince: that he was fully of opinion that no such cause had been given by the King; but still he thought such circumstances there might be, in which it would be lawful for them to resist.” Being asked by the Dean what those cases were, he answered. “He had not considered the matter so far and fully; and, he had other things more proper to be thought on at that time.”

On the scaffold he behaved himself with great resignation and piety. “He had forgiven,” he said, “all the world, heartily, and thanked God that he died in charity with all men. He wished all the Protestants might love one another, and not make way for Popery by their animosities.”

After his death, Dean Tillotson was sent for by the King, and in his presence, strictly examined by the privy council respecting Lord Russel’s be-

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

Lord Russel  
is executed.



SECTION haviour. The King, particularly commended the  
 IV. Dean's own letter, and "wondered what could be  
 CHAP. III. said to it." The Dean gave them Lord Russel's  
 opinion, and intimated that such was also his own,  
 adding: "That it was not impossible to find out  
 a case of exception, though he would not then  
 pretend to specify it. The Duke of York, who  
 was willing to believe there was no exception, with  
 some warmth, urged him to *name the case*. But  
 he was interrupted by the King, who said:  
 "Brother, the Dean speaks like an honest man."  
 Nor was it long before the Duke afforded in his  
 own conduct, ample data for arriving at a correct  
 opinion on this important subject.

Algernon  
 Sydney.

Another victim of noble descent, but of a very  
 different character, next fell under the axe of the  
 executioner. This was Algernon Sydney, a man  
 of the Cromwellian school, labouring under the  
 delusion of a fanatical spirit. He pronounced  
 sentence on his judges, and appealed to God and  
 the world, against the injustice of his sentence.  
 He desired to be admitted to the presence of the  
 King, in order to convince him that the design of  
 the insurrection, was "to deliver him from oppres-  
 sion," and undertaken for his "interest and hon-  
 our." His prayer on the scaffold, was an extra-  
 ordinary performance, exhibiting sentiments of  
 exalted piety, mingled with the "strange fire" of  
 enthusiasm and the delusions of a disordered mind,  
 concluding his thanks to God, in these words:



“That thou hast permitted me to be singled out as a witness of thy truth and for that CAUSE in which I was engaged from my youth, and for which thou hast wonderfully declared thyself.”

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. III.

The King, supported by the Tories, who comprized the strength and mind of the nation, triumphed over all opposition, and arrived at the height of his prosperity and glory. And, as if to reward the nation for its justice, consistency and submission, the hearts of the people were filled with joy and satisfaction at the celebration of the nuptials of the Princess Anne, second daughter of the Duke of York, with George, brother to the King of Denmark, a Protestant Prince of great promise. The people testified their joy on this occasion, with every species of rejoicing, as if they had foreseen their future happiness under the auspices of the “good Queen Anne!”

Crisis of the  
Reign.

In the meantime, the unhappy Duke of Monmouth who had hitherto contrived to conceal himself from the pursuit of justice, now wrote a submissive letter to the King, in which he lamented the share he had taken in the conspiracy, but disavowed, as the rest of the nobles had done, having any knowledge of that part of it which related to the King’s assassination.

The indulgent Monarch not only pardoned him, but admitted him to his favour, on the condition that he should subscribe a paper drawn up in

Conduct of  
the Duke of  
Monmouth.



SECTION IV. terms, agreeable to the confession contained in his letter. He might now have been happy : but his wavering soul torn with pride and ambition, could not withstand the importunities of his friends and companions, and unmindful of the calls of duty and honour, he desired the King to restore to him the paper which he had subscribed. The King saw the danger of his fatal request, and expostulated with his infatuated son : on the “ evil consequences which would follow his obstinacy.” But in vain. The King gave him till next day to consider, when still persisting in his request, he put the paper into his hands, and from that moment, banished him from his court and presence. He retired to Holland, and never saw his offended Sovereign again.

Duke of  
York supreme.

The Duke of York was now established in his authority and influence, which he exercised to the utmost against those persons, who had hitherto assailed his character with impunity ; and, amongst the first, he brought an action of “ scandalum magnatum ” against the notorious Titus Oates, for calling him “ Traitor,” and applying to him other scandalous and opprobrious epithets ; but his trial did not come on till the following reign, when he received the just reward of all his perjuries.

It would have been well, if the triumph which the high and “ Conservative ” party had enabled the goverment to achieve, had been used with



moderation, but the Duke's influence was paramount; and, measures of a strange, and arbitrary character were resorted to.

An action of "Quo warranto" was directed against the Corporation of the city of London, to inquire upon what authority and title their privileges were exercised. The matter was pleaded at the bar of the King's Bench, and argued on both sides with great ability. But many acts of the Corporation were alleged as illegal and inconsistent with the terms of their charter; and it was, therefore, pronounced "that it be seized into the King's hands." The charter, however, was returned, but with such alterations as placed the election of the city magistrates, virtually, in the power of the Crown. A general panic seized the corporate bodies throughout the kingdom, and they voluntarily delivered up their charters to the will of the Sovereign, who graciously returned them; and to the great satisfaction of the people, many of them, with greater privileges than before.

The reign was now drawing to a close; but even at such an eventful crisis, we cannot refrain from noticing the death of Bishop Morley, who now finished a useful and benevolent career. He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, and afterwards appointed chaplain to Charles I. He accompanied the present King in his exile; and, after the restoration, he was promoted to the Bishoprick of Worcester, and afterwards to that

SECTION  
IV.

CHAP. III.

The Charters  
examined.  
A. D. 1684.

Death of  
Bishop Morley.



SECTION of Winchester ; the King telling him that “ he  
 IV. knew he would never be the richer for it,”—a pro-  
 CHAP. III. phesy which he fulfilled to the letter. He spent  
 great sums of money in repairing and rebuilding  
 his episcopal residences, and still greater sums in  
 his benefactions and donations. He was munifi-  
 cent in his charities—calvinistic in his theology,  
 and primitive in his life, and died full of years  
 and honour, in the eighty-seventh year of his age.

The King  
 crowned with  
 prosperity.

A calm now succeeded, such as had not been  
 experienced since the commencement of the  
 reign. The dissenters, even, ceasing from their op-  
 position, became peaceable subjects, and, in most  
 instances conformed to the established church ;  
 so that if this state of things had continued a little  
 longer, the whole kingdom would have become  
 united in “ one faith.” The King through the  
 peculiar favour of Heaven, was promoted to great  
 honour, and advanced to the height of regal feli-  
 city. His revenues were increasing. His debts  
 diminishing. His enemies decaying, and his  
 friends flourishing, and he had now the finest  
 opportunity of promoting the welfare and happi-  
 ness of his subjects. But the hour of his triumph  
 was brief. His earthly career was about to ter-  
 minate, and his summons to appear before the  
 Judge of all, was even now impending ; and it is  
 pleasing to reflect, that the summons found him  
 contemplating the foundation of Chelsea Hospital.  
 Nor was this all. He published a “ declaration”



in which he acknowledges with the utmost gratitude, “the invaluable mercy of God to him and his subjects; and, that in so dangerous a juncture of public affairs, he had met with so many unfeigned testimonies of love to his person, and zeal to his Government from all degrees of men in the nation.” He was so convinced, indeed, that his throne had been established, by the spontaneous and patriotic exertions of the nation, that he let fall expressions which intimated a change of policy, as if he should not be dealing justly with a people so generous and loyal, if he delivered them up into the hands of his brother, of whose vindictive temper he had lately had such manifest proofs.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. III.

But whatever might have been his intentions, his purposes were arrested by the hand of death. He was seized on Monday the second of February with apoplexy. But, being immediately bled by a physician who happened to be present, he revived. But it was only for a short season, and only a few days were now allotted to the King of England to prepare for his solemn account before the judgment-seat of Him, in whose presence, Kings and people are alike. The report of this alarming illness filled the nation with grief and consternation. Prayers were offered up in all the churches: and if the fervency and sincerity of prayer could always prevail, the King had been reprieved. But Heaven saw otherwise. The

His illness.



SECTION fitting moment for the nation's great deliverance  
 IV. was arrived; but for his father's sake, it was per-  
 CHAP. III. mitted the King to go down to the grave in peace  
 and honour.

Bishop Kenn  
 waits upon  
 him.

In the meantime, Bishop Kenn, one of the most humble and pious of men, having been lately promoted to the Bishoprick of Bath, was permitted to wait upon the King—a duty which he performed with such devotion, that for three days and nights he never left the couch of the royal sufferer—watching, at proper intervals, to suggest topics of pious thought suited to the solemn occasion—to offer seasonable hints as the ground of repentance, and to direct the King's mind to the great sacrifice of the gospel, as the sole ground of acceptance with God.

His faithful  
 conduct.

Whilst engaged in these pious labours, the Duchess of Portsmouth, the King's favourite mistress, entered the apartment, when the worthy prelate, lamenting such an interruption, with a prompt fidelity, which nothing but upright principle can furnish—desired the King that she might be requested to retire. He prevailed; and embracing the opportunity which the circumstance afforded him, represented to his Majesty “the great injury and injustice” which had been done by her, and others of the same character, to the Queen. His representations in this respect also prevailed. The Queen was summoned to the apartment of her dying consort, who now, with



great humility desired her pardon, which she tenderly and generously granted. After this, the Bishop devoted himself to his important charge, and never left his bed-side for three days and nights together. He forcibly urged upon the royal mind, the necessity of a full and sincere repentance; and, observing, as he thought, the most favourable symptoms, he proposed to the King, the celebration of the holy sacrament. But in this, the desire of the Bishop was not to be granted. Whilst he was contemplating, with rising hopes, the state of the King's mind, and perceiving the awakening of a still deeper repentance, about to be sealed in the participation of the Lord's supper—his attendance upon the Sovereign was suddenly interrupted, and he was removed from his presence.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

He is suddenly dismissed.

It was eight o'Clock in the evening of Thursday the fifth of February, when all hopes of the King's recovery were given up, that the Duke of York, attended by Father Huddleston, a benedictine, the Marquis of Bath, and Lord Feversham, Captain of the Guard, entered the King's apartment. The King perfectly understood the intention of their visit, and readily accepted the services of the cowled Priest, who immediately went through, what may justly be entitled, the legerdemain of religion, or, the incantations of Popery, in which the sublime and simple truths of Christianity have been corrupted by the accumulated

The King dies a Papist.



SECTION IV.  
 CHAP. III.

superstitions of ages. Fearful apostasy! which refuses to be corrected by establishing the impassable barrier of infallibility. But this is not the place for observation. Reason, religion and common sense, having been ejected with the unpretending Bishop—the King received the sacrament of penance, or absolution from sins, and “Extreme unction,” or, in other words, a passport to purgatory; and, to complete the FATAL mystery, the Eucharist, or, the idolatry of the wafer was enacted. Thus without any attempt at that MORAL preparation, which had been so successfully commenced by Bishop Kenn, the unhappy Monarch, was dismissed into eternity by the cold formalities and false pretensions of Popery, which, if they produced any effect at all upon their deluded votary, on their own shewing, sunk him amidst the dark shades of a profound night, to expiate, or, to purge the remaining feculencies of his nature, in the depths of a purgatorial abyss. If it were lawful or availing to pray for the dead, who would not pray for the soul of Charles II, who was thus surreptitiously plunged into the fires of purgatory?

His character. Thus died Charles II, in the bonds of the Popish Faith, to which he had “sold himself” during his exile, on terms, the fulfilment of which were never realized; and, it is remarkable, that with this reservation in favour of the church of Rome, to whose spiritual authority he had submitted, he should have conducted himself with



such impartiality and fidelity towards the reformed faith of the Church of England. It is evident that his submission to the Romish faith, was not the result of conviction, but imagined expediency. Nor had he time to acquire any great prejudices in its favour. His prepossessions, therefore, were strongly English; and, from the moment of his Restoration, he seemed determined not to allow his submission to the Church of Rome, to interfere with the institutions of his country. He ruled the church with a steady and impartial hand, and, at one period, to prevent the importunities of some, placed his church patronage in the hands of Commissioners, who filled their trust with satisfaction to the nation.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.

His understanding was of the highest order, and although abandoned to licentious pleasures, he was capable of achieving the greatest enterprises, as he discovered, in many instances, during this period of history. His genius inclined him to naval affairs, in which he most delighted, and had the forms of government permitted him to command his own fleet, he would undoubtedly have signalized himself.

Upon the whole, he was a most indulgent Monarch, holding the reins of Government with mercy and clemency: under his sway, the nation flourished, and, learning without being directly patronized, enlarged its boundaries to an unprecedented extent. The just mention of the names



SECTION of the learned men of this period, would, of itself,  
IV. require a volume. The resources of the country  
CHAP. III. were increased. “The Protestant principle” became firmly established. The Church of England was grounded and settled on the surest foundations, which enabled it, successfully, to withstand the shock which was even then preparing. The country, under the peculiar interposition of Providence, had been saved from a premature explosion, until the principles which were destined to carry it on in its future distinguished career, were fully established and confirmed in the minds of the people. The moment for the important struggle was now approaching, and the Almighty Governor, selecting England for his honoured instrument, was about once more, to display his power in checking the insolency of that usurping power which had so long debased the minds of the Kings and Princes of the Earth, “and made them drunk with the wine of her fornications.”



## CHAPTER IV.

---

JAMES II.—THE GREAT PRINCIPLES OF THE BRITISH  
CONSTITUTION EVOLVED. PROTESTANT ASCENDANCY.  
THE MONARCHICAL POWER, AND THE PRINCIPLE  
OF TOLERATION, ARE SOLEMNLY RECOGNISED AND  
ESTABLISHED.

---

SUCH was the generosity of the English nation, that whilst they lamented, with deep affliction, their late beloved Sovereign, they not only discovered no opposition to the succession of his Brother, but received him for their King with acclamations. All their former animosities against the Duke of York were forgotten, and he mounted the throne of his ancestors as free and unshackled as any Monarch that had ever swayed the English sceptre.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. IV.

James II.  
succeeds.

A. D. 1685.

N. S.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. IV.



But there was one splendid feature in his character which inspired their confidence. He was an inviolable observer of his word. The truth and honour of the Duke of York were proverbial. Nor were they unmindful of the courage he had manifested, and the heroic deeds which he had performed in defence of his country. And, although, as King, he afterwards departed from the high principles which had adorned the Prince, and became the deceiver of his people and the betrayer of their liberties, yet their integrity and uprightness, under the divine favour, secured them a bloodless and glorious triumph!

His solemn  
Promises.

Indeed, every thing in the King's conduct seemed to justify their confidence. He did not allow them time to hesitate in forming an opinion in his favour. But on the very first opportunity in the presence of his Privy Council, he made a solemn Declaration, in which he abjured all notions of "Arbitrary Power" and expressed his intention of *preserving the Government both in CHURCH and STATE as by LAW ESTABLISHED*. "I know" he said, "the principles of the Church of England are for Monarchy, and, the members of that Church have shewn themselves good and loyal subjects, therefore, I shall always take care to defend and support it. I know too, that the Laws of England are sufficient to make the King as great a Monarch as I can wish, and as I shall never depart from the just rights and prerogatives



of the Crown, so I shall never invade any man's property. I have often, heretofore, ventured my life in defence of the nation, and I shall still go as far as any man in preserving it in all its just rights and liberties."

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. IV.

This declaration was printed and circulated throughout the kingdom, and produced the liveliest demonstration of loyal affection and devotion from all ranks of people; and, although their bright anticipations of the future were, in some measure, overcast by the King's attending in the most public manner, in St. James' Chapel, with all the insignia of royalty, on the following Sunday,—still they depended upon his royal word. Addresses flowed in from all parts of his dominions, from Counties, Corporations, Universities and Inns of Law. These addresses were filled with the most loyal and patriotic sentiments, and discovered a people, not more just and generous, than sensible of their high privileges, and ready when necessary, to defend them.

He attends

Mass.

The Scottish Parliament met on the twenty-eighth of March, and followed in the same strain—offering their dutiful submission, and expressing their high sense and admiration of their happy constitution, and expressing their unshaken confidence in his truth and wisdom.

Whilst the elections for the English Parliament were proceeding with great calmness and unanimity—the prosecution of Titus Oates was com-

The perjurer

Oates tried.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. IV.

His cruel  
sentence.

pleted. He was indicted at the bar of the King's Bench for perjury, and though he defended himself with much acuteness and great presence of mind, he was found guilty on several indictments; and, whatever may have been the demerits of this wretched informer, his sentence was of the most barbarous description, and was executed with monstrous severity. He was not only fined one thousand marks on each indictment; but he was to stand twice in the pillory, to be whipped one day from Aldgate to Newgate, and the other from Newgate to Tyburn; and, during his whole life, as a memorial of his villainy to stand four times a year in the pillory. Dangerfield was tried and treated in a similar manner, and Fitzharris shared the same fate. But there was another culprit of a different character arraigned before the same inhuman Jeffries—not for perjury, but as the head of the Dissenting party, which had fallen into disgrace with the new Parliament. This was the famous Presbyterian Divine, Richard Baxter, a voluminous polemical writer. Some of his former productions were brought before the public and severely animadverted upon by the “*Observator*,” a political writer of that day, especially his “*holy Commonwealth*,” and his “*Saints everlasting rest*.” In this last work, he had in effect, placed *Pym*, *Hampden* and the *Lord Brook*, who died in actual rebellion, amongst the Saints in Heaven; which was inter-



preted either as a serious defect in his judgment, or a strong inclination to their cause. His accusation, however, was founded on several passages taken from his late work, entitled "A Paraphrase on the New Testament," which it was alleged, reflected upon the prelates of the church of England. The venerable Presbyter was treated with great scurrility by the Chief Justice, who threatened him with the pillory. He was found guilty by the Jury, and sentenced to be fined five hundred marks. Certainly, this trial of Richard Baxter is a remarkable circumstance; and, whatever might be the intention of Providence in permitting such a visitation on one so eminent for christian piety, yet we cannot but remember his obstinacy and vanity, by which, in a great measure, he frustrated the hopes of union in the church Catholic, at the commencement of the late reign. Still his prosecution discovers too manifestly, the violent and vindictive temper of the government, and the absurdity of the attempt to fasten treason on the works of Baxter.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. IV.

The Parliament assembled on the nineteenth of May: and was certainly the most noble assembly in rank, wealth, and ability, that had ever met at Westminster. It was, indeed, a just representation of the mind and property of the kingdom. The King in the fullest manner repeated what he had asserted in his declaration before the Privy Council, and even quoted the very words; and,

Parliament.  
 A. D. 1685.



SECTION IV. CHAP. IV. to leave no doubt upon the minds of men respecting his sincerity, he added, alluding to the words of his declaration: "I spoke them not by *chance*, and, consequently, you may firmly rely upon a PROMISE so solemnly made."

Invasion of  
England,

It will be remembered that in the year sixteen hundred and eighty-one, the Earl of Argyle was tried and condemned for high treason, but, although his sentence was respited, and even a pardon was promised, yet he fled from his native country; nor was the place of his concealment known, till, on the death of the late King, he was found at Amsterdam, in correspondence with the Duke of Monmouth and other English malecontents. These fiery and ambitious spirits were meditating deep designs against their country, which were to end in their own discomfiture and ruin. Their rashness and imprudence now hastened the catastrophe.

First, by the  
Earl of Argyle.

Having concerted their measures for invading England, the Earl of Argyle, impatient to satisfy his revenge, without waiting for the Duke of Monmouth, set sail from Holland with three small vessels, and, after encountering some difficulties by sea, landed on the West of Scotland, near *Dunstaffnage*. But he was soon defeated and taken prisoner; and sent to Glasgow. Within a few days, like the vilest malefactor, he was conducted into Edinburgh with his hands tied behind him, and bare-headed, with the hangman carrying



an axe before him; and, without any ceremony or even speech, he was beheaded in the market-cross. His head was fixed on the Toll-booth, affording an eminent example of the righteous judgment of God, when “he maketh inquisition for blood.” On his unhappy head was visited the cruel and ignominious death of the Marquis of Montrose, and, under circumstances of such striking similarity, that it was remarked at the time—“That the late Earl of Argyle was taken in the same month of the year, in the same week of the month, in the same day of the week, and in the same hour of the day, (to say nothing that he passed through the same gate) as that Marquis of Montrose, whose murder, perhaps, was one of the foulest blots in the history of that nation.”\*

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. IV.


His death.

Whilst these things were transacting in Scotland, the Duke of Monmouth had landed his forces at Lyme, in Dorsetshire; and, however formidable such an expedition might have been under such a leader, whose courage and conduct had been tried, whose sentiments were highly popular with the nation, and whose person was greatly beloved—the whole enterprise was frustrated, by the inconceivable rashness of the Earl of Argyle; and, although it proved fatal to the leaders themselves, it was a fortunate thing for their country that the measures of the confederates were not better concerted, and their strength

By the Duke  
of Monmouth.

\* Echard.



SECTION IV.  CHAP. IV. duly concentrated. As it was, the people flocked to the Duke of Monmouth in great numbers, but he had neither arms, horses, nor ammunition with which to supply them, and many were obliged to return home. Such, however, was his success, that in a few days he advanced to Taunton, where he was welcomed with acclamations of joy, and was proclaimed King of England.

Conduct of  
Parliament.

But he had to contend single-handed against a united kingdom. Never had a Parliament a more difficult task to perform ; and never were moderation and high principle more nobly displayed in the conduct of any assembly. In this conjuncture they acted with great resolution. They voted an address to the King in which they assured him of their unshaken loyalty—settled upon him, for life, the ample revenue enjoyed by his brother at his demise ; and whilst they voted large supplies for his Majesty's service, they did not detract from their generosity by any attempt to invade or limit the royal prerogatives ; but merely stated that they relied entirely on his Majesty's royal word, to support the religion of the Church of England, which they added “ WAS DEARER TO THEM THAN THEIR LIVES.”

Battle of  
Sedgemore.

The Duke, meanwhile, had advanced to Bridgewater, at the head of five thousand men, whilst the King's forces under the Earl of Feversham, hastening to oppose him, were encamped within a few miles of Sedgemore. On that very night,



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. IV.

the Duke having received intelligence that the King's troops were very remiss, resolved to attack them in their camp, which he did with great gallantry and effect. But having lost his guide in the darkness, a large body of his men, were entangled for some time in a morass, which afforded time to the King's forces to rally. The battle was sharply contested for some time, but, at last, ended in the total defeat of the Duke, who fled from the field in disguise. But the hour of his retribution was at hand.—And his ambition, ingratitude, and treason, were about to receive their just chastisement. He wrote a submissive letter to the King, and the Queen Dowager interceded for his life. But in vain. His fate was no longer in the hands of the indulgent Charles. About ten o'clock in the morning, on the fifteenth of July, he was led forth to execution, attended by a strong guard, who had orders to take his life if any rescue were attempted. He was not without strong religious impressions, but they were tinged with enthusiasm, which led him into error both in doctrine and practice. He laid his head on the block with calm fortitude. The executioner in vain reiterated his strokes, and, at length, threw down the axe in horror. He endured these tortures with meek submission and patient firmness. And at length, in fulfilment of his sentence his head was severed from his body, in the thirty-sixth year of his age.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. IV.

Prodigious  
cruelties.

The King had now an opportunity of displaying his mercy and benignity in the pardon of the numerous offenders; but such noble sentiments were incompatible with his inclinations and future designs. Fear and terror were the order of the day. Judge Jefferies was the instrument of his vengeance. Accompanied with four other Judges and a party of soldiers commanded by Colonel Kirke, he proceeded on his commission; and concluded his bloody circuit at Exeter, in which he had condemned more than five hundred persons, of which numbers two hundred and thirty were executed; and the wicked Judge was heard to boast, that “he had hanged more men than all the Judges of England, since the time of William the Conqueror.” Nor was his avarice less abhorrent than his cruelty. His pardons were as ready for those who could purchase them, as his executions were certain for those who could not. On one occasion he received £14,000. It is impossible to describe the horrors that followed in the train of this commission. Law, and justice, and even decency, were outraged; and the Judge and his inhuman ally, Colonel Kirke, returned in triumph to London; and, lest it should be possible to ascribe these enormities to the Judge and his accomplices, Jefferies was created a Peer of the realm and Lord High Chancellor of England!

The King’s  
affairs.

The King’s affairs were now firmly established, and seemed to promise a long and settled felicity;



and, had he stood firm to his engagements with Parliament, he would have reigned happy and beloved at home, and might even have effected what he declared to be his intention: "To carry the kingdom's reputation yet higher in the world, than ever it had been in the time of his ancestors." But deaf to all faithful counsel, and unmindful of his most solemn promises, this infatuated Prince was persuaded by his Romish flatterers and adherents, to believe that he had "the fairest opportunity," with a Parliament of undoubted loyalty and a church which upheld the doctrine of non-resistance—to secure the ascendancy of the Roman Catholic Church.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. IV.

In defiance of all the lessons which he might have received during the last reign from the wise and conciliatory conduct of his brother—he had now taken his resolution, and was about to afford to the English nation, the most convincing and infallible proofs of the false and pernicious principles of that arbitrary power, which, under the name of religion, arrogates to itself universal secular domination.

On the meeting of Parliament, the King seemed to bid defiance to all conciliation, and, even prudence. He intimated that the militia in which they had so much confided, was insufficient for the safety of the country. He plainly told them that, he must have supplies to support a standing army, which he had increased to fifteen thousand

His bold conduct.



SECTION men. Without circumlocution, he told them he  
 IV. had employed many Popish officers in the late  
 CHAP. IV. rebellion, in whose persons he had *dispensed* with  
 the Test required by law; and declared his resolution, neither “to expose them to disgrace, nor himself to the want of their services.”

Moderation  
 of Parliament  
 in England. This bold declaration of the King's intention  
 to wield the power of dispensing with the law,  
 could not be allowed to pass without notice in  
 the assembly of the conservators of liberty. They  
 remonstrated with great respect and submission.  
 But their remonstrance received from the King a  
 brief and positive rejection. Such however, was  
 the moderation of the Parliament, and such their  
 fear of the consequences of a breach with the  
 sovereign power, that they determined to preserve  
 their temper, and conduct their opposition with  
 wisdom and prudence. They voted the necessary  
 supplies, amounting to £100,000, and even went  
 so far, as to offer the King to capacitate, by law,  
 as many Roman Catholic officers as he should be  
 pleased to nominate.

But the ill-fated Monarch, urged on by the vehement impulses of false religious impressions, was determined to pursue his course. He rejected the conciliatory offers of the Commons; and when he found the House of Lords, led on by the Marquis of Halifax and the Bishop of London, disposed to follow the same firm and dignified line of conduct, he prorogued the Parliament.



The King had now advanced to the height of his power. Having dismissed his Parliament—increased his army—and possessed himself of an ample revenue, he began to manifest more openly, his design of aggrandising and establishing his religion on the ruins of the Protestant liberties of his country.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. IV.

His first attempt to raise the superstructure of arbitrary power was in Scotland. To this he was tempted by the strong expressions of submission, which the Parliament of that kingdom had made, immediately on his accession. By his Commissioner the Earl of Murray, he signified to them his anxious wish, that they should abolish all the penal statutes, and repeal all laws and tests which had been levelled against “his innocent Roman Catholic subjects.” The subject was calmly debated by the Parliament, and it was, at length, resolved that, the Roman Catholics should be allowed the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion, in private. This was far from satisfactory to the royal mind, who soon after prorogued the Assembly.

In Scotland.

A. D. 1686.

His measures in Ireland were carried on with less disguise. The Duke of Ormond, the friend of Charles I, of Clarendon, of Southampton and Albemarle, was Lord Lieutenant—a nobleman who had run the most distinguished career—maintained an unblemished reputation—discovered the most inviolable fidelity to the Protestant



SECTION religion, and was the friend of the English as well  
 IV. as the Irish nation. Such was the justice and  
 CHAP. IV. impartiality of his administration that he gave  
 satisfaction to all parties. But a man of his character was utterly unsuited to the designs of the King, and, he was recalled. The Irish Privy Council was immediately dissolved, and, soon after, filled with a majority of Papists. The next step was to disarm the Protestants; which was done in the most subtle manner, by the clamour of pretended false plots; and, to secure their victory, they proceeded to remodel the army, which was entirely Protestant, and consisted of five thousand men.

Conduct of  
 the Earl of  
 Tyrconnel.

Indeed, the counsel of the Popish Cabal at Court, with the King and Queen at its head, became drunk with furious zeal, insomuch that they were restrained by the more prudent of the Popish nobility; and, to satisfy in some measure, the rising jealousies of the English nation, the Earl of Clarendon, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. But, at the same time, under the cover of his name, the Earl of Tyrconnel was appointed military Lieutenant, a man, who for the blindness of his prejudices and the fury of his temper had no equal. He placed no boundary to his arbitrary conduct, displacing officers and discharging the common soldiers at his will and pleasure, treating them with contempt and insult, and supplying their places with the most virulent Papists.



When Tyrconnel had accomplished his design, SECTION  
 he went over into England to consult with the IV.  
 faction, by whom he had been commissioned, and CHAP. IV.  
 to solicit for himself the government of Ireland.  
 The Queen, Father Petre, and the Earl of Sunderland seconded his request; but the King still hearkened to the more prudent advice of the Popish Lords, and sent an assurance to the Earl of Clarendon, that he had no design or inclination to remove him; but before the end of the year, the restless party obtained their object, and Tyrconnel was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The Protestants filled with terror, and apprehensive at the prospect of another massacre, deserted their country in vast numbers—a circumstance which tended to rouse the public mind in England, and to prepare the way for the great catastrophe of the reign.

Whilst the minds of the people were thus agitated, an event occurred which tended still more to kindle the flame of discontent, and to increase, to the utmost, the animosity of the public against the Romish communion. This was the revocation of the edict of Nantz by the French Monarch, and the cruel and bloody massacre of the Protestants of that kingdom. It is said that half a million of the most skilful and industrious inhabitants of France deserted their country. Fifty thousand landed on our own shores and spread such reports of the tyranny of their oppressors, as roused the

Massacre in  
France.



SECTION IV. indignation of the people, and brought back the remembrance of “the bloody and persecuting spirit of Popery.”

CHAP. IV.

The nation now saw with alarm, the gulph prepared for themselves; and every measure pursued by the Government, tended to increase and confirm it. The King, goaded on by the counsels of his Queen and Father Petre, his confessor, whom he had made a Privy Counsellor, hastened and precipitated every measure for the re-establishment of Popery.

Ireland having been secured, it was now determined to attempt England, but with more caution and under the specious appearances of law. Popery was allowed once more to display its real character, and to shew that no moral restraints can afford any barrier against its stretches after power. The King's honour was forgotten; his word falsified, and his reputation given up to reproach, for the purpose of serving their religion. He had been taught that the sacred cause of Holy Catholic Church, and the furtherance of its interests, were paramount to every human obligation.

The King  
corrupts the  
Judges.

The King's first attack on the liberties of the nation was in Westminster Hall—the ancient seat of Justice,—and he determined if possible, to fill those venerable seats with Judges who should assert his “dispensing power,” or in other words, should execute or break the Laws at his com-



mand. Nor was it long. He commenced a new system of policy, which, at that time, was called "closeting," and consisted of private conferences with the Judges and leading Members of Parliament. The first person on whom he tried his power of persuasion, was Sir T. Jones, Lord Chief Justice, who had, on more than one occasion, shewed himself sufficiently obsequious to his wishes, but to his immortal honour he now steadily resisted the King's solicitations and plainly told him: "He could not do it." To which the King replied, "He would have twelve Judges of his own opinion." To which Sir Thomas answered, "Probably his Majesty might find *twelve Judges* of his own opinion, but he would scarcely find *twelve Lawyers* of that mind." The result of this, and other "closetings" was, that the refractory Judges received their "quietus;" and others who would comply with the King's wishes, were nominated in their room. In the same manner the King remodelled his Privy council, and four influential and zealous Papists were sworn into that important office and honourable distinction.

Every thing was now prepared for a vigorous attack upon the constitutional and religious principles of the nation. The Judges corrupted, —the Privy Council secured, and the army increased.

The "dispensing power" of the King was openly avowed and set up, and, to give it some-  
Their unjust  
decree.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. IV.



SECTION IV. thing of a legal sanction, eleven, out of the twelve Judges, gave it as their solemn and deliberate opinion that, it was an ancient and “inseparable” right and prerogative of the Kings of England, to dispense with the laws on great and “necessary occasions,” of which he himself was the sole Judge.

Patriotic conduct of the Clergy.

These bold advances of the Sovereign power filled the minds of all men with astonishment and alarm, and laid the deep foundations of a determined and successful resistance; and in this trying juncture, the English church is once more destined to be the Saviour of the liberties of the country. The Houses of Parliament were silenced. The Bench of the Judges was seduced: but the guardians of the national faith were on their guard—and faithful to their trust. The pulpits every where resounded with polemical discourses against Popery, whilst the press daily sent forth compositions distinguished for their depth of learning—the power of their eloquence, and the extent of their erudition.

To check and overawe the Clergy, who from their peculiar position in society, were now the great champions of the liberties and religion of their country, through the advice of his Popish counsellors, ever fruitful in invention, a court of inquisition was established, entitled an “Ecclesiastical Commission.” This Commission was a violent infraction of all law, and to render it



the more virulent, even Roman Catholics were appointed Commissioners. The Lord Chancellor Jefferies was at the head of it, and the authority of the Court extended to all Ecclesiastical causes and persons, to deprive or suspend, at their will and pleasure.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. IV.

Nor was it long before the Commissioners shewed the extent of their jurisdiction in the suspension of Doctor Compton, the Bishop of London. This active prelate, by a conduct worthy of his noble birth, and his high station in the church, had acquired the love and esteem of the Protestant Church at home and abroad; and, was, on that account, more eminently, the mark of the envy and hatred of the Romish party at Court; and an occasion now offered, at once to ennoble the "Ecclesiastical Commission" and to humble their formidable opponent. But they succeeded not. Heaven had designed this man as the principal agent in the salvation of the country from that "popish and arbitrary power" which was then in the ascendant, and was intent upon overwhelming the civil and religious liberties of the nation.

The Clergy  
receive a check.

The first step of this political act, was a letter sent by the King to the Bishop, expressly requiring and commanding him, "forthwith to suspend Doctor Sharp, from further preaching in any parish church or chapel, until he had given him



SECTION satisfaction, and his further pleasure be known  
IV. herein."

CHAP. IV.  
Conduct of  
the Bishop of  
London.

Doctor Sharp was at that time Rector of St. Giles and Dean of Norwich, and was, afterwards, Archbishop of York, and was much admired for his talents in the pulpit. He had made himself particularly obnoxious to the Court party, by the eloquence and learning with which he vindicated the church of England against the errors of Popery. This was his only offence, and the Bishop perceived that the design was to forbid all preaching against Popery, and the result of it would be to suspend all the eminent preachers in England. He endeavoured to divert the storm that threatened the church and clergy, and wrote a submissive letter to the King, assuring him of his loyalty and his readiness to obey his Majesty in whatsoever commands he laid upon him, that he could perform with a safe conscience. But in this he continued, he was to proceed according to law, and that no judge could condemn a man before he had knowledge of the cause and had "cited the party." The Bishop despatched this letter by Doctor Sharp himself, assuring the King, that he was ready to make any satisfaction to him that he could desire. But the Doctor could not gain access to the royal presence, and no answer was returned to the Bishop's communication, until he was summoned to appear before the "Ecclesiastical Commission." The Bishop conducted



himself during the whole proceedings, which lasted through a whole month with great wisdom, prudence and firmness. The case was argued by the Bishop and his counsel with great skill and learning. But law and reason prevailed not. The King's command was pronounced from the Bench to be superior to both; and the Bishop was sentenced to be suspended "from all Episcopal and other Ecclesiastical jurisdiction."

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. IV.

In the meantime, the King urged by the counsel of the Jesuits who surrounded him, to expedite his purposes after the example of the French King, by the "short arguments of military missionaries," and fully determined on the establishment of his religion, he assembled his forces to the number of fifteen thousand men on Hounslow Heath. A regular camp was formed under the command of the Earl of Feversham, and a chapel was erected at head quarters for the daily celebration of mass, and to give greater eclat and splendour to the encampment, the King himself was in the habit of visiting it, a circumstance which drew great multitudes of people to view and admire this military array. But it was not witnessed without great jealousy, by a people who had never been accustomed to see encampments in time of peace. Yet there was only one man at this alarming juncture, who had the courage and patriotism to declare against it—and he, too, was a Clergyman. His name was Samuel

A novel  
Spectacle.



SECTION Johnson; and he drew up a short but powerful  
 IV. address, "to the English Protestants in King  
 CHAP. IV. James' army," which might well deserve a place in  
 this history, inasmuch as it contains sentiments,  
 which can never admit of change, whilst Popery  
 continues the same, usurping, intolerant power.

Mr. Johnson's The tendency of this bold address was too fatal  
 case. to the King's designs, to be left unpunished.  
 Mr. Johnson, the writer, was tried at the King's  
 Bench, and was sentenced to pay a fine of five  
 hundred marks—to be whipped from Newgate to  
 Tyburn, and to stand in the pillory at three dif-  
 ferent places, Westminster, Charing Cross, and  
 the Royal Exchange. And, preparatory to this  
 vindictive sentence, out of pretended respect to  
 the gown, he was degraded and despoiled of his  
 Ecclesiastical character before the Bishops of Dur-  
 ham, Rochester and Peterborough, who had been  
 appointed Commissioners of the See of London.  
 This cruel punishment produced a deep impres-  
 sion on the minds of the people, and the seeds  
 sown in his address to the soldiers took deeper  
 root, and no doubt promoted in a great measure,  
 that defection which afterwards discovered itself.

The King now undertook the "closeting" of  
 his courtiers and ministers, whom he warmly  
 solicited to be reconciled to the church of Rome.  
 He first undertook to manage the Earl of Sunder-  
 land, who was considered already too obsequious  
 to the royal wishes. The tenor of their discourse



has not transpired; but the Earl was not refractory, although his acquiescence, whether real or pretended, at last proved fatal to the interests of his master.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. IV.

The King next tried his eloquence on the Earl of Rochester, Lord High Treasurer, for whom he entertained the highest esteem. The Earl, at last, wearied with his solicitations, proposed to have the points at issue between the two churches argued by divines on both sides. The King assented. The Protestant champions were Doctor Simon Patrick, a person of a clear head and great reading, and Doctor William Jane, a man of equal learning and famous for his knowledge of polemic divinity. On the Popish side were one Gifford, a Doctor of the Sorbonne, and Doctor Godden. The conference was long: and, at last, the Romish Doctors were pressed with so much strength of argument and Catholic authority that they were forced to quit the field to their opponents. The King was greatly disconcerted, and, going off abruptly, was heard to say: "He never saw a bad cause so well, or, a good one so ill maintained." But it proved no cause of triumph to the Earl of Rochester; for the Jesuits were so exasperated, that they lost all bounds, and, within a few days, he was deposed from his high office and dignity.

Such indeed, were the high expectations of the Romanists at this period, that the Earl of Castle-



SECTION main was despatched as Ambassador extraordinary to the Court of Rome, to reconcile the three kingdoms to the Apostolic see. But Pope Innocent was too clever a politician to be deceived by appearances. The King received nothing but mortification from this embassy, and to make up for this disappointment, he had recourse to a most consummate piece of policy which took the nation by surprise, and produced an indelible sensation through all ranks of people. He published a declaration, proclaiming liberty of conscience throughout his dominions. The declaration was drawn up in strains of the purest Protestantism, and would have deserved to have been ranked amongst the most enlightened monuments of human wisdom, had not its projectors been engaged at that very moment, in a conspiracy to overthrow the laws of their country, and to destroy every vestige of civil and religious liberty.

IV.  
CHAP. IV.

Extraordinary  
declaration.

Conduct of  
Dissenters

On the appearance of this declaration the whole kingdom was filled with astonishment. The Dissenters were ensnared with the golden bait, and received the boon with every demonstration of joy and satisfaction. They presented addresses of thanks to the King, filled with such extravagant and fulsome compliments, as to be offensive to the very ears of Majesty itself.

and Church-  
men.

But the churchmen stood firm to their principles, and drew back from the seductive influence which they saw would be fatal to their religion



and laws. They refused, therefore, to yoke themselves to the chariot of arbitrary power, or, to unite in those laudatory addresses which daily flowed into the Court from all parts of the kingdom. "The loyal Church of England," to use the words of a writer of that day, which had not only preached but practiced obedience in all things lawful, was now condemned as disloyal and disobedient, because she could not exceed those limits; and the Dissenters who were always rebels in speculation, and, in practice, whenever they had an opportunity, were, in an instant become the only "good subjects." This determined and dignified conduct of the churchmen gave great offence to the Court party, and they made it their chief endeavour to widen the former breaches, and to revive the animosities between the Church of England and the Dissenters. But nothing could divert the church from its proper course. Her champions refused to betray their trust, and to be a willing party in the destruction of their country. There were, however, some exceptions: Crew the Bishop of Durham, Barlow of Lincoln, Cartwright of Chester, Wood of Lichfield and Coventry, and Watson of St. David's, prevailed upon some of their clergy to sign addresses of thanks to the King. But these addresses were so jejune and insipid, that they seemed more like the forced thanks given by a corrected child to a severe parent, than the free and hearty acknowledgments

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. IV.



SECTION which flow from a grateful sense of real favour.

IV.

CHAP. IV.

Parker Bishop of Oxford, who, although he displayed extraordinary zeal on this occasion, was not so successful as these Court prelates. His clergy could not be prevailed upon to sign an address, which might prove of such dangerous consequence to their religion, but to assure the world that they were not actuated in their refusal, by any sullen humour or disloyalty, they drew up their reasons in writing, which they submitted to their Bishop.

University of  
Cambridge in-  
vaded,

Whilst the rights and privileges of the nation were invaded on every side, whilst the Dissenters adored the hands that were fastening the chains about their necks ; and whilst the corrupted Bishops endeavoured to decoy their flocks into the same compliance, the true sons of the church felt the full weight of the storm which now began to discharge its fury. It was first directed against the Universities, those noble seats of learning and piety, which in the most difficult times, had distinguished themselves for their loyalty and affection to the crown. Cambridge was first attacked. A mandate was sent by the King to the Vice Chancellor, requiring him to admit Father Francis a Benedictine Monk, to the degree of Master of Arts, without administering to him the oaths required by law. The University proceeded with great firmness and moderation, and refused compliance on the ground of a conscientious adherence



to their solemn oaths, and their obligation to obey the laws,—But in vain. They were summoned before the Ecclesiastical Commission, and although they pleaded several explicit statutes and Acts of Parliament, which prohibited the admission of an unqualified person, and urged their own oaths to be faithful to their trust, the sentence of the court was given against them—the Vice Chancellor was deposed from his office, and, the University obliged to submit not only in this, but to many succeeding mandates for fellowships, to the great discouragement of learning and the disgust of its friends.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. IV.

The attack against the University of Oxford was still more formidable. A vacancy having occurred in the presidentship of St. Mary Magdalene College, the King directed a mandate to the fellows, to elect a person of the name of Farmer, a man of bad reputation, on the promise of his becoming a Papist. This was the boldest stretch of arbitrary power that ever was attempted. Magdalene college was the most noble and munificent foundation in the university, and, from repeated grants of Kings ratified in Parliament, and contained in their statutes, possessed an uninterrupted and incontestible right of electing their own President. They nobly resisted the regal invasion. But not with impunity. The Ecclesiastical Commission was once more set in motion. The fellows put in their own plea, and elected Doctor

and Oxford.  
A. D. 1687.



SECTION IV. Hough for their President. This was highly displeasing to the King; and Commissioners were sent to Oxford for the purpose of executing his commands. Doctor Hough was deposed, and Doctor Parker, Bishop of Oxford, instead of Farmer, installed into the dignity of President; and when the Fellows resisted this gross violation of their privileges, by petition to the King, they were deprived of their fellowships, and forcibly ejected from their college.

“Whilst the church was thus harrassed,” to use the words of the writer quoted above, the Dissenters lay lurking at their ease in the sunshine of a Court which had thawed all their rigid humour, and melted them down into a perfect compliance with their friends the Papists. They who were formerly refractory and disobedient to the laws, now carried their obedience beyond the laws, and became the champions of the “DISPENSING POWER.\*”

But at this very moment, when the King's arbitrary measures seemed to promise him an easy triumph—the ground was failing beneath his feet, and he was about to be precipitated into the gulf of unavailing remorse and despair.

Parliament  
prorogued.

The Parliament, which according to the terms of its prorogation ought to have assembled on the twenty-eighth of April, was again prorogued to the twenty-second of November; and the King

\* Echard's History, p. 1085.



endeavoured by “closeting” the members, to win them over by expostulations or promises; but, whatever effect he produced upon individuals, he found it impossible to prevail on the majority, and on the second of July he dissolved it by proclamation.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. IV.

The whole summer was employed by the Romanists in laying the sure foundation of their future ascendancy. The Dissenters were fairly won.—Popish Judges and Lord Lieutenants appointed.—The old Royalists turned out of their offices, and Dissenters placed in their room; and, to secure the steadiness of the army, an old statute was revived, making it death for a soldier to desert his colours; and, to influence the elections, the Justices of the peace were dismissed, and Dissenters raised to the bench. Their grand design was to gain the Parliament, without which all their labours would be in vain. Nothing could exceed the devotion of the Dissenters to the will of their royal master. They daily multiplied their addresses and “many of them expressly promised to choose such representatives as should be ready to answer and obey the King’s desire.”

Dissenters in  
the ascendant.

It was to forward this great cause that the King took a long progress, for the purpose, as it was alleged, of taking a view of his ports and harbours, but in reality for the purpose of influencing the elections; nor, should it be omitted that, in this progress, he was attended by the cele-

William Penn.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. IV.



brated William Penn, who with great industry promoted the King's designs. He was taken into the King's counsels, and even wrote a most Jesuitical letter to the Fellows of Magdalene College, "to persuade them to a compliance with his Majesty's letter." "Every mechanic," adds Penn, "knows the temper of his present Majesty, who never will receive a baffle in anything that he nearly espouses; and that he does this, yourselves have had too late and manifest an instance to doubt of his zeal in the affair."

The Popes  
nuncio.

The Romish plot still continued to advance, and the established laws of the realm were every day violated in the most public manner. Signor Ferdinando D'Adda, domestic prelate and assistant to the Pope, was declared apostolical nuncio, and made his entry into London, as a foreign ambassador with great pomp and solemnity. Vast multitudes of people were attracted by a spectacle which had not been enacted in England for one hundred and fifty years. We are assured that this ceremony occasioned the disgrace of that celebrated patriot, the Duke of Somerset, who being Lord in waiting, the King desired him to attend the nuncio to his audience. The Duke requested his Majesty, "to excuse him from an office which the LAWS made criminal." The King reiterated his commands: but the Duke persisting, the King with great wrath, dismissed him from his presence and official dignity.



In the midst of these exciting transactions, we are called to regard a scene of a less public but of a more solemn character—the death-bed of the Duke of Buckingham, the last of the “CABAL.” He had for some time retired from court to his only Castle, at Helmby in Yorkshire; but he carried with him into his retreat, the same dissolute mind and profligate habits, and his hour of reckoning was at hand. He had lived in the disregard of religion and morality, and his end was without honour. He had left home for the purpose of hunting in the neighbourhood of Kirby Moorside, and being seized with sickness, he was conveyed to a wretched Public House in that village. His relative, the Lord Irwin, prevailed upon him to send for a Clergyman, who approaching the Duke asked him, *of what religion he was?* The Duke answered “It is of little consequence: I have been a shame and a disgrace to all religions: if you can do me any good, do.” Thus died in the sixtieth year of his age, unregretted and, without hope, the profligate son of a profligate father, and with him were extinguished a noble family and noble estate in the second generation, verifying the declaration of holy scripture. “He shall neither have son nor nephew among his people, nor any remaining in his dwelling.\*”

Whilst the unfortunate Duke of Buckingham was expiring, the hopes of the Popish party were

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. IV.

Death of  
Buckingham.

\* Book of Job xviii 19.



SECTION IV.  
CHAP. IV. suddenly invigorated with new life. A Proclamation appeared in the Gazette announcing a day of thanksgiving, "because it had pleased Almighty God to give his Majesty apparent hopes and good assurance of having issue by his royal consort the Queen." It was proclaimed by the Jesuits as a miraculous interposition. They asserted that it was either the effect of a solemn petition which the late Duchess of Modena had put up in heaven to the Virgin Mary, or, of a vow that the Queen had made to our Lady of Loretto, with the present of a golden Image enriched with precious stones. These stories, not without reason, increased the jealousy and suspicion of the Protestant party, who now remembered their former cheats and impostures, and could not help considering this as a "pious fraud" intended to assist them in their present designs.

Heroes of the  
Church.

The Romanists continued, however, to make the best use of such a fortunate adventure; and taking advantage of the fears and consternation of the Protestants, procured addresses of congratulations from several Counties. The Jesuits also gathered visible strength, and were daily publishing books and treatises on their religion. But the champions of the Church of England were at hand, and drew their pens with such vigour in defence of the Protestant religion, that the Jesuits were overmatched. These christian heroes were Stillingfleet, Tillotson, Tennison, Wake, Sherlock



and other distinguished names, who not only vanquished their opponents by the intrinsic goodness of their cause, but by a deeper stock of learning and a stronger force of sound reasoning which had a powerful influence upon the people. Their learning and piety, their humility and pastoral care, their courage and boldness attracted the love and veneration of all men. The Clergyman's gown was so nobly adorned by the vigorous discharge of their high functions, that every body was ready to pay respect to it; and, it was at this period that the London Divines may be said to have been the ornament of the reformed Churches and the glory of the christian world.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. IV.

But the triumph of the press was short. A proclamation appeared in the month of February, prohibiting "the printing and selling of all unlicensed books," which placed the whole controversy in the hands of the court. Many works were suppressed; but the whole proceeding added still greater lustre to the Divines whose names we have just enumerated.

The Romish party were now in the ascendant. The King's religion became fashionable, and every day men of weak minds and strong ambition, of wicked morals and of sordid tempers, apostatized from their religion, and abandoned the faith of the gospel. But a sudden ruin was even now impending over their heads; and when all hope seemed about to expire in the breasts of the Pro-

Popery prevails.

A. D. 1688.



SECTION testants, the overruling providence of God in his  
 IV. benevolent purposes, was opening a way for their  
 CHAP. IV. deliverance.

The first dawn of this auspicious day, appeared  
 at this juncture and was brought on by the King  
 himself, who had recourse under the pressure of  
 The King applies to Hol- circumstances, to the weakest and most infatuated  
 land. policy. Although he had hitherto met with un-  
 varying success in all his designs against the con-  
 stitutional rights of his country, yet he felt there  
 were yet formidable difficulties in his way, which  
 he could not overcome without the concurrence of  
 Parliament. To facilitate his project for abroga-  
 ting the "test and penal laws," he came to the re-  
 solution of trying the inclination of the Prince  
 and Princess of Orange. His Majesty, no doubt,  
 flattered himself, that their Highnesses who  
 were known to entertain the most liberal opinions  
 on the subject of toleration, would not contradict  
 his intentions, and he was aware that their deci-  
 sion would produce a great effect on the minds of  
 the people, who regarded them as their future  
 sovereigns.

But happily their Highnesses were strangers to  
 The Prince of Orange answers. dissimulation, and as presumptive heirs to the  
 Crown of England, they determined not to yield  
 to any solicitations which might prove fatal to  
 those Laws which the English nation regarded  
 as the bulwark of the Protestant religion. The  
 Prince and Princess were averse to meddle with



such a nice affair, and for some time the King could obtain no answer to his communications.

SECTION  
IV.

CHAP. IV.

At length, under their direction, the pensionary Fagel, wrote to Mr. Stuart the Kings agent, to the following effect: "That no Christian ought to be punished for his conscience, or, be ill used because he differed from the public and established religion: and that their Highnesses were ready to concur with his Majesty in the settling and confirming full "liberty of conscience:" and that if his Majesty wished for their concurrence in the repeal of the Penal Laws, they were prepared to give it, provided those Laws still remained in their full vigour by which the Roman Catholics are shut out of all public employments both civil and military. That neither the test nor penal laws could be said to carry in them any severity against the Roman Catholics with regard to their consciences, being only provisions to qualify men for official trusts, and which proceeded on a principle recognized by all christian states, who admitted none to a share in the Government, or public employments, who were not friendly to their institutions necessary for the security of the Protestant religion. And that, therefore, they could not concur with his Majesty in those matters, for they believed they should have much to answer if the consideration of any present advantage should induce them to consent to things which would not



SECTION only be prejudicial but dangerous to the Protestant religion.”

IV.

CHAP. IV.



The King's  
Character  
sinks.

This memorable letter was printed and published in great numbers throughout the kingdom, and revived the sinking spirit of the nation, and enabled them to bear up under the daily mortifications to which they were exposed. But the King, finding himself baffled in his application to the Prince and Princess of Orange, redoubled his efforts to accomplish his purpose. He dispatched his emissaries into all the Counties, to secure, if possible, the elections in his favour: and, to fortify himself against any sudden surprise, recalled six English and Scotch Regiments that were in the service of the united provinces. He became every day more and more entangled in the artifices and policy of the Court of Rome. His character sunk. He lost the vigour and manliness of his understanding. He became a bigot. The man, the statesman, the soldier, the King was forgotten, and he sacrificed his honour, his word and his country at the shrine of a “bewitching” superstition, which by a perversion of all reason and sense, assumes to itself the title of an exclusive christianity, to every tenet of which, both in doctrine and practice, it is fundamentally opposed.

Father Petre the King's confessor was now prime minister, and supreme at the council board, but he was no statesman and of a vain and imperious temper, and although he had all the advan-



tages of favouritism, the Earl of Sunderland continued, by the superiority of his genius, to preserve an ascendancy in the King's counsels.

SECTION  
IV.

CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1688.

A second declaration was now issued for securing "Liberty of conscience," in which the most reasonable and christian principles were set forth, with a view of influencing the elections, and providing such a House of Commons as would not only pass a Bill of Toleration, but abrogate all tests and penal statutes which prevented Roman Catholics from holding office in the state. The Dissenters, as we have shewn, were already ensnared and taken. But the Bishops and Clergy were entirely adverse to it, both on account of its illegality, and, of the fatal consequences which must attend it.

To humble their "mortal enemies," as they termed the champions of the church, it was determined that this *illegal* declaration should be read by the clergy in all the churches of the kingdom; in order, as the haughty Father Petre termed it, (let all Protestant Bishops and statesmen for ever remember it)—that they might "eat their own dung." An "order by his Majesty in Council" was immediately issued and strange to say, that order which was intended by them to mortify the clergy, became the foundation of their own overthrow. "Pride goeth before destruction and a haughty spirit before a fall;" and, from this moment, every thing hastened their downfall.

Insolence of  
the Popish  
party.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. IV.

Declaration  
of the Bishops.

The Bishops and Clergy of England were astonished at the imperious mandate, which rendered it impossible for them to remain longer silent or inactive. A grand consultation was held in the Palace of the Archbishop, to consider how they ought to conduct themselves in such a critical conjuncture. This important meeting was opened with solemn prayer, and a declaration was agreed upon, expounding the principles upon which they intended to conduct their opposition to such an arbitrary "Order." In this declaration they answer the objection which might be urged against their conduct, as inconsistent with the great principles of loyalty and submission maintained by the Church of England: "That loyalty being obedience according to law, they were the loyal men who acted not contrary thereto. That the best friends to the crown are those who support the law, and that they still maintained the principle of suffering without any unchristian opposition." And, to another objection, lest their conduct should be represented as imperious to the Dissenters, they observe, "That Dissenters could not but see, that this refusal was not to hinder any favours towards them, but to withstand the "dispensing power;" which if it took place, they could not but discern, that a new Magna Charta for liberty of conscience would be of no validity to them, for a new declaration might dispense with it at pleasure. And that the wisest and best



of them would look upon their refusal as a testimony of their sincerity to the Protestant religion, and not of any disaffection to them.”

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. IV.

Nor was the conduct of the Bishops less noble and dignified than their sentiments were just and christian. They saw that a great storm was ready to fall on the whole body of the clergy; and they resolved to shelter them by offering themselves to the full indignation of the Monarch, and, at once, refused to send the “Declaration” to the Clergy. History scarcely affords a nobler example of christian courage and integrity.

On the eighteenth of May, six of the Bishops waited upon the King, and being introduced by the Earl of Sunderland, delivered their petition into his Majesty’s hand. The King startled and appeared much incensed at the contents of it, and in a very angry tone said: “I have heard of this before, but did not believe it. I did not expect this from the Church of England. If I change my mind you shall hear from me, if not, I expect my command shall be obeyed.” The Bishops with all reverence replied: “We resign ourselves to the will of God.”

The King enraged at their conduct.

This opposition of the Bishops created an extraordinary sensation throughout the kingdom; and the minds of men were filled with a variety of conjectures as to what would follow. But the Popish party had methods of their own, upon which they resolved. The Archbishop of Canter-

Summoned before the Council.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. IV.

Their Admi-  
rable conduct.

bury and the other Bishops were summoned before the Privy Counsel, where they appeared on the thirteenth of June; and, being asked "whether they owned the petition?" After a short consultation the Archbishop acknowledged "that it was written with his own hand and signed by the rest, and added, that they had done nothing but what they were ready to justify." The Lord Chancellor, somewhat staggered at their constancy, asked them, "whether they would give their recognizances to appear before the Court of King's Bench to answer this high misdemeanour?" This they all refused, "insisting on the privileges of their Peerage, which they were resolved to maintain as well as the rights of the Church, being bound by their callings, to oppose all innovations both in government and religion." This brave answer threw the whole council into astonishment. But Jeffries gathering courage from despair, threatened to send them to the Tower, if they did not immediately recant and withdraw their petition. They immediately answered: "That they were ready to go wherever his Majesty would send them; that they hoped the "King of Kings" would be their protector and judge: that they feared nothing from men; and that having acted according to law and their own conscience, no punishment should ever be able to shake their resolution."

Finding them thus immoveable, a warrant was



immediately drawn out by the council to commit them close prisoners to the Tower; and the Attorney and Solicitor General were ordered to prosecute them, “for making and publishing a seditious libel against the King and his Government.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. IV.  
A. D. 1688.

*That* warrant was the great turning point by which God intended to rouse the spirit of the nation, nor can words express the deep state of feeling excited on this occasion through all ranks of the community.

Every precaution was taken by the ruling powers to avoid any demonstration in favour of these venerable Prelates. They were ordered to be conveyed to the Tower by water, and in the most private manner. But this policy was defeated. The people flocked in multitudes to the river side, and with loud acclamations testified their admiration of their constancy and firmness. The Bishops with that composed serenity in their looks, which is inspired by a consciousness of integrity, received these testimonies of their affection with meek submission. The intensity of the popular feeling was increased by the arrival of some companies of soldiers. A death-like silence ensued, only broken by their sighs and tears—the deep felt testimonies of their attachment to their spiritual leaders, which they further testified by falling down upon their knees to crave their benediction. Nay the very soldiers were moved by their primitive deportment, and, on their landing at the

Feeling of the  
multitude.



SECTION IV. Tower the officers and men fell on their knees to beg their blessing. It was, perhaps, the most extraordinary demonstration of feeling that was ever manifested by the people of England, and from the moment of the incarceration of the Bishops, the Tower became the citadel of their strongest affections and liveliest hopes. That place, as a contemporary author observes, "which had been polluted by the residence of so many traitorous criminals, was, in a manner, sanctified by the presence of the tutelar ANGELS of the church of England, and, of the liberties of the Nation."\*

An important  
event,

The affairs of the nation now rapidly advanced to a new order of things, and the great catastrophe of the reign was nigh at hand. But the thick and impenetrable veil of futurity yet concealed it from the eyes of the nation. The Popish party, especially, instead of apprehending any danger, grew still more confident, and an event now occurred which seemed to establish their hopes beyond the possibility of failure. This was the birth of a Prince. The tidings were announced on Trinity Sunday, the day after the Bishops were committed to the Tower. The triumph seemed now complete, and a day of thanksgiving was appointed on the following Sunday. But every thing about this unfortunate birth was suspicious, and notwithstanding all the assurances and proofs

\* Echard 1102.



which could be advanced, it was universally believed to be an imposter.

SECTION  
IV.

CHAP. IV.

And now came on the momentous trial of the Bishops, as guardians of the Church, contending for "the faith once delivered to the Saints;" and, as Peers of parliament, maintaining the liberties of their country. Their counsel pleaded their privilege. The trial was postponed for a fortnight, and they were liberated on bail. The people again shewed their satisfaction, by every demonstration of joy. The City was illuminated, and the whole population seemed to be animated with one mind and one object of rejoicing; and the contrast was remarkably striking, when, two days after, the conduits running with wine, and extraordinary bonfires blazing for the birth of the Prince of Wales, scarcely a hat was thrown up, or, an acclamation heard.


On the nineteenth of June, the day appointed for the trial, a vast concourse of the nobility, gentry, and people, were assembled at Westminster. The illegality of the "dispensing power" was argued with great force and eloquence by the Bishops Counsel, and the accurate Mr. Somers closed their defence: he stated from the opinion of all the Judges given in the Exchequer Chamber,\* "That the king had no power to suspend any law," and contended, that by the law of all civilized nations, if the Prince does require some-

Trial of the  
Bishops.

\* Case of *Thomas Sorrel*.



SECTION IV. thing to be done, which the person who is to do it, takes to be unlawful, it is not only lawful, but his duty, “Rescribere Principi,” which was all the Bishops had done, and that in the most humble manner. “The Judges having delivered their opinions, the Jury withdrew, and, sat up all night to consider of their verdict.”

CHAP. IV.  Their acquittal. Never was Westminster hall so crowded as on the following morning, to hear the result, of their deliberations, and, never, did its walls resound with louder acclamations than when the words “NOT GUILTY” were pronounced. The listening throng caught the words from the *foreman* and received it with acclamations. Nor were their shouts confined to the Cities of London and Westminster. Like the noise of “many waters” it spread through the adjoining country and to the Camp at Hounslow. The whole Army joined in the loud huzza, so that the King who was that day entertained in the tent of the Earl of Feversham, was startled at such an unusual demonstration, and desired his companion to inquire the meaning of it. The Earl returned and with affected coolness said—“It was nothing but the Soldiers shouting upon the news of the Bishops being acquitted.” The King much discomposed, replied: “And do you call that nothing?” “But so much the worse for them.”

The infatuated Monarch, unwarned by these manifestations of public feeling and goaded on by



his Popish Advisers, resolved upon the most desperate measures. For this purpose he determined to make trial of the fidelity of his army, and proposed to them a paper writing by which they were to engage, as far as in them lay, to contribute towards the repeal of the "Test and Penal Laws."

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1688.

The experiment was made, in his own presence, and the Major of Lord Lichfield's Regiment opened his Majesty's desire to the Battalion, directing all such as would not comply with it, to *lay down* their arms. To his astonishment, the whole regiment, with two or three exceptions, obeyed the latter part of the command. The king was speechless ; but after a short pause, recovering his self-possession he commanded them *to take up their arms again*, adding with a discontented look, "that he would not, for the future, do them the honour to ask their advice."

Trial of the  
Army.

The "Popish Cabal" thus warned, so far from desisting, or, even hearkening to prudent counsels, pushed their advantages with "ungovernable zeal and fury," and the total subversion of the constitution appeared inevitable. But in the midst of the gloom and darkness which threatened an impending storm, and filled the minds of the people with dreadful apprehensions, a sudden light appeared which promised a brighter day, and was, indeed, the dawn of a "MIGHTY DELIVERANCE." The benevolence of the Divine Being was about to manifest itself, in a manner which

The Crisis  
approaches.



SECTION could not be disputed, and was intending, by a  
 IV. concurrence of surprising events, without convul-

CHAP. IV.  


sion or bloodshed, to establish England as an  
 EXEMPLAR STATE amongst the nations of the  
 earth. Nor was it long. The nobility, and gen-  
 ttry instructed by the conduct and measures of the  
 Court, perceiving the imminency of the danger  
 which threatened the constitution in Church and  
 State, entered into a strict correspondence with the  
 Prince of Orange, in the management of which

The leading  
 actors appear.

Dr. Burnet, who resided in the Hague, was a princi-  
 pal instrument. The Lord Wharton though ad-  
 vanced in years, proceeded through Holland to  
 Germany. Colonel Sidney, Uncle to the Earl of  
 Sunderland visited the Spaw under pretence of  
 drinking the waters. The Lord Dumblain, son  
 to the Earl of Danby, a brave seaman who com-  
 manded an independent frigate, was of im-  
 portant service in carrying their despatches.  
 The Earl of Shrewsbury, leaving the command of  
 his Regiment and mortgaging his estate for  
 40,000 pounds, went over to the Prince and made  
 him an offer of his sword and his purse. And at  
 length, Herbert, the English Admiral threw up  
 his Commission and retired to the Hague. In  
 short the hearts of all men, were alienated from  
 their infatuated Sovereign, and all parties united  
 against him. Indeed, every man was at his post,  
 and ready to act to the best of his ability in the  
 hour of danger, and the moment had now arrived



when the Law of “passive obedience and non-resistance” was to be expounded by the acts of a great nation, directed by moderation, justice and prudence.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. IV.

The preparations of the Prince of Orange were carried on with great ability and secrecy. But they could not be concealed from the agents of the French Monarch. He warned the English King; but the announcement seemed incredible. The King's Envoy extraordinary at Paris, wrote letter after letter on the same subject, but with no better success. The French King sincerely anxious to save him, sent him more pressing information and offered him a supply of thirty thousand men for his protection. But on the advice of the Earl of Sunderland the offer was rejected. Still the French King would not desert him; and being fully convinced of his danger, ventured in his own name to remonstrate with the states of Holland, on their warlike preparations. But this act of extreme friendship was disowned by the English Government and their Ambassador at Paris was recalled and committed to the Tower.

The King is  
infatuated.

But on the twenty-third of September, the eyes of the deluded Monarch were opened by a communication which he received from the Marquis of Abbyville at the Hague, informing him that the Pensionary Fagel had frankly told him the design of the Prince of Orange, and many of the English

His surprise



SECTION IV. Nobility had arrived in Holland, for the purpose of accompanying the Prince to England. On reading this news, the King turned pale, the letter dropped from his hand and he remained some time speechless with astonishment. The effects of his rash Counsels were now apparent. He found himself on the brink of a precipice, whilst his jesuitical flatterers stood thunder-struck at a distance, without daring to offer any consolation. One voice alone was heard, suggesting "that the Prince of Orange might yet be diverted from his design, or defeated in the attempt." To which the half stupified Monarch answered—"I know my Son-in-law's character so well, that if he undertakes any design, he will go through with it; he will never be diverted, and very hardly defeated."

and consternation.

He appeals to the Bishops.

It is remarkable that in this extremity, the sinking Monarch turned his eyes to the Bishops of the Church of England, as the faithful and enlightened supporters of the constitutional Monarchy; and perhaps no age of the Church affords such a striking example of christian submission, courage, kindness, and charity. At his first summons the men whom he had so recently persecuted were at his side, assuring him of their unshaken loyalty, and of their readiness to afford him every proof of their attachment and duty.

The King received them with extraordinary marks of favour and kindness, and told them,



“That he desired the assistance of their Counsels in the present exigency” assuring them, “that he was ready to do whatever they should think necessary for the security of the protestant religion, and of the peoples rights, without derogating from his prerogative.”

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1688.

Nor was the King himself idle; he issued a “Declaration” for the purpose of softening the minds of the people and exasperating them against the Prince of Orange. The suspension of the Bishop of London was taken off. A churchman was nominated as Lord Mayor, and the charter of the City of London was restored.

Retraces his steps.

On the third of October the Archbishop of Canterbury attended with the Bishops of London, Winchester, St. Asaph, Ely, Chichester, Rochester, Bath and Wells, and Peterborough, again waited upon his Majesty. The Archbishop opened the proceedings with a brief address, and then proceeded to propound the heads of advice which they had prepared for his Majesty’s consideration.

I. To put the whole management of his Government in the several counties, into the hands of such as were legally qualified for it.

II. To annul his commission for Ecclesiastical affairs.

III. That no dispensation might be granted or continued, by which any person not duly qualified by law, had been or might be put into any place, office, or preferment in Church or State, or



SECTION in the Universities. That he would restore the  
 IV. President and fellows of St. Mary Magdalen Col-  
 CHAP. IV. lege in Oxford.

IV. To set aside all licenses or faculties, by which any person of the Romish Communion, might pretend to be enabled to teach public schools.

V. To desist from the exercise of his dispensing power, and to permit that point to be freely and calmly debated, and finally settled in Parliament.

VI. To inhibit the four foreign Bishops who styled themselves Vicars Apostolic, from farther invading the Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which by law was vested in the Bishops of the Church of England.

VII. To fill the vacant Bishoprics and other Ecclesiastical promotions within his gift in England and Ireland, with men of learning and piety.

VIII. To suspend all farther prosecutions of "Quo Warranto," intended otherwise to have made one of the principal requests.

IX. That writs might be issued out, with convenient speed, for the calling of a free and regular Parliament, in which the Church of England might be secured according to the acts of Uniformity, provision might be made for a due liberty of conscience, and for securing the liberties and properties of all his subjects, and a mutual con-



fidence might be established between his Majesty and all his people. SECTION IV.

X. Above all, that his Majesty would be pleased to permit his Bishops to offer such motives and arguments as they trusted might by God's grace be effectual, to persuade his Majesty to return to the communion of the Church of England, into which most Holy Catholic faith he was baptised, in which he was educated, and to which it was their daily earnest prayer to God, that he might be re-united. This last point we are assured the Archbishop afterwards reinforced in a private conference with the King, by a discourse full of convincing arguments, and which "savoured of all the free breathings of the primitive times of Christianity," \*

The Priests were enraged beyond measure at this bold and constitutional advice of the Bishops. The King however, on this occasion not only concealed his discontent, but immediately began to redress the grievances complained of. He retracted most of those arbitrary measures which we have recorded; and promised, once more, to govern by law. Many of the nobility offered their services, and preparations were made on a scale sufficient to crush any invasion that could be made from the shores of Holland. The loyalty of the Church was unshaken, and the Archbishop of Canterbury composed a particular form of prayer to be added

The King  
pretends compliance.

\* Echard, 1114.



SECTION to the usual liturgy “during the time of public apprehension from the danger of invasion.”

IV.

CHAP. IV.



In the mean time, on the tenth of October, N. S. the Prince of Orange published a solemn declaration, which though much longer, embraced the same articles of complaint as those recommended for redress by the Bishops; and, on the sixteenth, having concluded his preparations for this great expedition, he entered the assembly of the States General to take leave of them. The whole assembly were moved to tears and invoked the blessing of God upon his magnanimous enterprise.

The Prince  
of Orange sails  
for England.

On the nineteenth of October the Dutch Fleet set sail from the Flats, near the Briel, with a south westerly wind. The armament consisted of fifty-four sail of the line with several frigates and transports, containing forty thousand horse and ten thousand foot. The Prince was attended with a splendid train of the English nobility, the Count of Nassau and the famous Marshal Schomberg. The Prince embarked in a frigate with English colours, embroidered with his arms, and surrounded with this motto. “The Protestant religion and the liberties of England.”

Admiral Herbert led the van, the whole fleet was under sail, and every thing seemed to promise a prosperous voyage, when, on a sudden, the wind becoming westerly, blew a dreadful storm and continued with such fury for two days, that the whole



fleet was scattered and driven back upon their own coast. SECTION IV.

Exaggerated accounts of the disaster were transmitted to England. Nor could the Popish party conceal their exultation. They boasted; "that God Almighty had now recompensed them for the loss of the Spanish Armada, which a hundred years ago had been designed to conquer the English Heretics." Nor was this all. The event shewed the real mind of the King, and discovered to the Nation that the PROMISES of their King were not to be relied upon. "I was present," says a French author, "when King James received the news at dinner, he used but one hand, holding the most welcome letter in the other." Amongst other things he said to M. Barillon, the French Ambassador, laughing. "At last, then, the wind has declared itself a Papist," then resuming his serious air and softening his voice, he said: "you know, for these three days I have ordered the Holy Sacrament to go in procession."

CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1688.

Transports  
of the Popish  
party.

The respite, however, was short, yet sufficiently long to shew that the once high-minded and honourable Duke of York, whose word was inviolable, had become a weak, vacillating, promise-breaking Bigot. He lost no time in recalling his concessions and putting a stop to all redress of grievances, and importuned the Bishops to publish a counter-declaration, expressive of their abhorrence of the intended invasion. The Archbishop and most of



SECTION his brethren waited upon the King, and declared  
 IV. their innocence with respect to the invitation of  
 CHAP. IV. the Prince—but declined, as Ministers of peace,  
 any such particular declaration as he requested,  
 alleging also that, as Peers of Parliament, such an  
 act might well be resented by the temporal Lords,  
 urging his Majesty immediately to call Parlia-  
 ment together for the purpose of taking their  
 united counsel. When the King reminded them  
 of the pressing exigency of the times, they offered  
 to meet as many temporal Lords for consultation,  
 as could be immediately summoned. Every step  
 was thus taken with prudence, wisdom, and strict  
 regard to constitutional principles. Not so the  
 Scotch Bishops. They rushed immediately into  
 the snare—published a declaration, abhorring the  
 invasion of the Prince and renouncing the prin-  
 ciples on which it was founded—a line of conduct  
 ruinous to themselves and their country—for after  
 the Revolution, they could not, in honour, sit in  
 Parliament; and thus deprived their Church and  
 Country of their services, the management of  
 which, of necessity, devolved upon the Presbyters.  
 The English Bishops acted more consistently with  
 the principles of “Passive obedience and Non-re-  
 sistance.” The conduct of the Scotch Bishops,  
 under the peculiar circumstances of the case, was  
 interference which cannot be justified. It was an  
 open abandonment of the Constitution and of the  
 principles on which the British Church was

Conduct of the  
English and

Scotch Bishops.



founded, nor can we wonder at the retribution that has followed, in their rejection from the Government of the national Church.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. IV.

The King's  
preparations.

But whilst the King was thus engaged in endeavouring to obtain the countenance of the Bishops, the Prince of Orange was making the most active preparations for a second embarkment. Nor was the King idle. A strong detachment of the army was despatched into the north, where it was expected the Prince would attempt to land. The army was reinforced from Ireland, and the fleet which consisted of sixty-one ships under the Earl of Dartmouth, was stationed at Gunfleet to watch the motions of the invading fleet.

On the first of November, in the afternoon, the Prince again embarked and the whole fleet weighed anchor. On the third of November they discerned the coasts of Essex and Kent, and as they were making for the English Channel, some of the transport ships passed within sight of the English fleet.

The Prince  
of Orange sails,  
and

The Dutch fleet having passed the Straits of Dover to the westward, steered on, intending to make either for Dartmouth or Torbay. But in the night a strong gale carried them beyond both these harbours, and at day break, they saw the inconveniency and danger of their situation. But at this moment of alarm, the wind providentially changed to the south, and with a gentle gale carried them directly into Torbay,—the most conve-

lands at Tor-  
bay.



SECTION nient place, for landing a body of horse, that could  
 IV. perhaps be found in the island; and what is re-  
 CHAP. IV. markable, this auspicious day which commenced  
 a second deliverance from Popery and arbitrary  
 power, was Monday, the fifth of November!

In three hours, above seven thousand horses were landed, and, shortly after, the wind changed to the west, and blew that night such a storm that the King's fleet, which had come in sight of the Dutch armament, was driven back and so shattered that the Earl of Dartmouth could no longer keep at sea but retired to Portsmouth!

Dismay of  
the King.

The whole country was now in a state of commotion. The King deceived, was bewildered and irresolute. His flatterers alarmed, distracted and angry. The natural energy of the Monarch was lost, and he appeared incapable of rousing himself to the sudden action which the exigency required. He ordered his troops to rendezvous on Salisbury Plain—despatched another part of it to Portsmouth, and ordered five thousand men to remain in London to check the expected insurrections of the citizens.

Progress of  
the Prince,

In the mean time the Prince of Orange, proceeded towards Exeter. Newton Abbot, was the first place where his "Declaration" was read by a Clergyman. At Exeter he was received by the overjoyed multitudes with every demonstration of joy. He entered the City with solemn pomp, and proceeded to the Cathedral, where the "Te Deum"



was sung for his happy arrival. After the reading of the collects, Dr. Burnet, who accompanied the Prince in his expedition, read the "declaration."

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1683.

Notwithstanding these marks of hearty welcome, the Prince had sufficient reason to be discouraged. He had reason to expect that all the gentry of the west would have joined him on his first landing, whereas he had now been nine days on shore, and scarce one person of eminence had joined his standard. Indeed, he began so far to doubt the success of his expedition, that he suffered it to be proposed to him in a council of war, whether he should re-embark his forces ! But the very next day, the aspect of affairs changed, a considerable number of the neighbouring gentry appeared in the Prince's camp, fully prepared and resolved to second his efforts for their country.—The Prince received them with the greatest courtesy, and an "Association" was immediately formed for "the defence of the Protestant Religion, and maintaining the ancient government, laws, and liberties of England."

Doubtful of  
Success.

From the moment this Association was formed, the tide of success set in upon the Prince's enterprise. Many eminent persons declared for him. The Lord Cornbury, son to the Earl of Clarendon, Colonel of Dragoons ; Lord Colchester and the Earl of Abingdon, went over to the Prince's army. These defections roused the Monarch, and he made instant preparations for leaving Whitehall

Strengthened  
in his purpose.



SECTION IV. to try his fortune in the field. But he was deserted by Him, who ruleth in the affairs of men, and  
 CHAP. IV. “giveth victory in battle.” At this moment Father Petre, his Confessor and Prime Minister, terrified at the alarming prospect, fled from the scene of action, and, like a base coward and betrayer, took refuge in France. Many other of the same Jesuitical stamp followed his example. The deserted King reached his army at Salisbury, on the night of the nineteenth of November, fatigued and dispirited, and troubled with bleeding at the nose. This was a grievous inconvenience to him at that juncture, and prevented him next day from visiting the outposts of his army. His Officers received him with great devotion, but declared to the General the Earl of Feversham, that although on any other occasion, they would spill the last drop of blood in his service, yet, that they could not in conscience fight against the Prince of Orange, who had come with no other design than to procure the calling of a free Parliament for the security of their religion and liberties.

The King  
 weakened and  
 deserted,

Leaves his  
 Army.

The unfortunate King at once saw his desperate condition, and still more, when he received a letter from Lord Churchill, explaining his motives for deserting a standard which, under any other circumstances, he would have defended with his life. At the same moment he was alarmed with the false tidings that Marshal Schomberg, whose name had been distinguished in the military annals of



every European nation, was approaching to give him battle, and he fled from Salisbury with precipitation. But at Andover, he was deserted by his Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, and others, who left behind them an explanation of their conduct, similar to that of Lord Churchill.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. IV.

But a still greater affliction awaited the King on his arrival in London. On the preceding night, his second daughter, the Princess Anne, consort to the Prince of Denmark, accompanied by the Lord Churchill, and under the protection of the Bishop of London, retired from Whitehall for the rendezvous of the northern Nobility at Nottingham. The news of her flight sensibly affected the distracted Monarch; and, entering his Palace in a flood of tears he cried out—"God help me! my own children have forsaken me!"

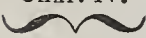
The King  
deeply afflicted.

All seemed now to be lost. But far from it. Such was the deep attachment of the people to their natural and hereditary Monarch, that if any expedient could have been found for the future security of their religion and laws, he might still have reigned in peace. The Bishops and several of the temporal Peers had again assembled, and, in a loyal address, besought the Monarch to call a free Parliament for the purpose of settling the affairs of the nation, promising him every assistance in their power.

Noble conduct of the Bishops.

The King took that night to consider of their



SECTION advice, and the next day declared in Council, his  
 IV. resolution to adopt it. Writs were immediately  
 CHAP. IV. issued for a free Parliament. The Marquis of  
 Halifax, the Earl of Nottingham, and the Lord  
 Godolphin, were despatched as Commissioners to  
 treat with the Prince, and nothing could be more  
 satisfactory than the result of their negotiations.

The King's  
 infatuation.

The proposals which were considered by all men  
 as reasonable and moderate, were immediately des-  
 patched to the King, who on reading them said :  
 “They are better than I expected.” And now,  
 was the critical moment. His compliance, hu-  
 manly speaking, would have fixed the house of  
 Stuart on the Throne of England. But that  
 “House” was rejected by God, and its apostasy  
 from the “true faith of the Gospel” was made the  
 instrument of its overthrow. Instead of confid-  
 ing himself to his indulgent and faithful subjects he  
 abandoned himself to aliens in religion and inte-  
 rests. He held an extraordinary consultation that  
 night with his Popish friends, who had reduced  
 him to these extremities. These perfidious men  
 clearly saw that, in a free Parliament, nothing  
 could serve the King unless he would consent to  
 relinquish his Popish counsels, which would be  
 followed by their total suppression and extinction.  
 Nor were they long in deciding upon the line of  
 policy which they should pursue. They resolved  
 to sacrifice their King and every thing else, rather  
 than see their designs blasted and their hopes for



ever extinguished. They impressed upon the King's mind, the dishonour which would attach to him by accepting such hard terms. They represented to him the power and zeal of the French Monarch, who would never desert their cause, and proposed to him an immediate flight into that Country. They prevailed, and the King resolved to abandon his subjects and throw himself into the arms of the French King.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1688.

The first step was to secure the flight of the Queen, who left the Palace in disguise, with the young Prince, under the conduct of Count de Lauzan. The night was dark, rainy and tempestuous, but they succeeded in reaching Gravesend, where they sailed for France, and safely landed at Calais.

The King immediately prepared to follow his royal consort; and, before his departure, wrote a letter to the Earl of Feversham, to acquaint him with his designs, who immediately disbanded the army. The City mobs assembled in great multitudes, and turned their fury against the Popish Chapels and the known residences of Papists. But there was no want of an Administration. The Bishops and Lords resident in the Metropolis and neighbourhood, assembled and took measures for the proper government of the nation, and for addressing the Prince of Orange. Their example was followed by the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen and common Council, so that the peace and

Attempted  
flight of the  
King.



SECTION order of a regular government were vigorously  
IV. maintained.

CHAP. IV.

Death of  
Jefferies.

It was at this juncture that the Lord Chancellor Jefferies attempted to make his escape in the disguise of a sailor, and took up his abode in Wapping, waiting for an opportunity to sail for Ham-  
burgh. But a fearful retribution awaited the infamous Judge. His dress and manners as a sea-  
man were so well managed, that he entertained no fears of detection. But strange to say, hap-  
pening to look out of the window, he was recog-  
nized by a clerk in Chancery who happened to  
be passing at the moment. He was immediately  
apprehended and seized by the mob, by whom  
he would have been torn in pieces had he not been  
rescued out of their hands. He was committed  
to the Tower: and, after lingering a few months  
in confinement, died in ignominy and disgrace.

The King's  
return.

Nor was the King much more fortunate in his  
attempted escape. After crossing the Thames at  
Whitehall, attended by Sir Edward Hales, he pro-  
ceeded to a place near Feversham; and whilst  
the vessel was taking in ballast, Sir Edward sent  
his footman to the Post Office, when a drummer  
that had been cashiered by Sir Edward, knew the  
livery, and followed him to the river side. Sir  
Edward was well known, and as much hated in  
that neighbourhood, and the vessel was boarded  
in hopes of finding Popish Priests and plunder.  
The King was dressed in plain clothes and a bob-wig



and him they took for Sir Edward's Chaplain, and, at once, searched his person, finding his jewels and 400 Guineas in money. At this moment a constable boarded the vessel, who recognizing his Majesty, fell at his knees, begging his pardon for the rudeness of the mob, commanding them to restore what they had taken. At the King's request, the Earl of Winchelsea, governor of Dover Castle, waited upon him, and on his advice, the King once more returned to London, which he entered in triumph, attended by a retinue of Lords and Gentlemen, and amidst the acclamations of the multitudes; and the night concluded with the ringing of bells, illuminations, bonfires and other demonstrations of popular joy.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. IV.

Loyalty of  
the people.

This is one of the most remarkable events in history, and discovers such a depth of loyalty and affection as appears incredible. The King had now another opportunity afforded him, of retracing his steps and securing the Crown upon his head. But he was infatuated. The Jesuits and Romish Priests immediately flocked to Whitehall; and one, more insolent than the rest, conveyed a message to the Lord Chamberlain, to send some new furniture to his apartments as he intended to stay there; and the King, in order to complete his overthrow, as his first act, published an order in Council for the protection of his Popish subjects.

Insolence of  
the Papists.

Still, however, the most dignified moderation prevailed. It was indeed, proposed to the Prince



SECTION of Orange to send the King as a prisoner to

IV.

CHAP. IV.



Holland, till the affairs of the nation could be settled. But he rejected the suggestion with indignation, and for the present, the King was requested to retire to Ham, the seat of the Duchess of Lauderdale. But the King chose rather to retire to Rochester, which was granted, attended by his own servants and yeomen of the guard.

The King  
returns to  
France.

The same day, the Prince entered London, and was attended by the principal Nobility of the Kingdom, and what would have been the result of their consultations, it is impossible to say. The King's conduct directed the nation in its course. He retired privately from Rochester without communicating his designs to any person, and, with two attendants, proceeded on horseback to the river where a small frigate waited his arrival; and, having immediately put to sea, with a favourable wind he landed at Ambleteuse in France.

The second desertion of the Kingdom, was considered as a deliberate and voluntary abdication of the sovereign power. He rejected the Crown on the condition of governing the nation by law, the only tenure on which it was ever held, and resolved, in opposition to all the principles of the constitution, to establish Popery and arbitrary power on the ruins of the national religion.

Never did a Monarch make a more deliberate choice, or more fully vacate his throne. The nation could do no more, unless they willingly sub-



mitted their necks to the iron yoke of slavery and superstition. Thus fell the House of the Stuarts, in the person of one of the bravest, most patriotic, and most vigorous of their race. James II. possessed every virtue that could have adorned a throne and rendered a Sovereign great and illustrious. He was steady and unwavering in his Counsels, sincere and open in his transactions, economical in his arrangements, and ambitious of serving his country. But, with all these eminent qualifications, he was rejected by God and banished for ever from the throne of his ancestors. Like Mary, his whole character was changed by the blighting influence of the religion which he adopted. He embraced the principles of the Church of Rome, not from any conviction of their superior excellency, for he was an ardent admirer of the doctrines and practice of the Church of England; but seduced by the specious and plausible arguments of the "Apostolic succession," he was led to entertain doubts of the authority of the reformed Church; and, at length to consider it schismatic. To a mind of his stamp and character, the result of such an impression was inevitable. He submitted himself immediately to the Church, with which he considered the Apostolic authority to rest. Without further inquiry, he received all its high pretensions as solemn truth, and became as devoted a subject of the Pope, as any Monarch in the darkest ages of christendom.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1688.



SECTION His sole object was the advancement of his religion. For this he sacrificed every noble principle of his nature, and abandoned the interests of his country. He became harsh, severe, tyrannical and PROMISE BREAKING, and it is evident that there is no act of cruelty and oppression, that he would not have resorted to, for the purpose of accomplishing his design, and establishing the supremacy of the Romish hierarchy.

IV.

CHAP. IV.

By nature, he was a brave and magnanimous Prince; by his religion, he was a vindictive and cruel oppressor. Hume, is astonished at this perversion of the noblest faculties, and lays it to the charge of bigotry in religion; a convenient method of disposing of a subject which he did not understand. Whatever credit one may be disposed to grant to this writer, for his knowledge of "men and things," most certainly he was an inadequate judge of man as a religious being. Of the great science of religion, as an historical, doctrinal, polemical study, he was profoundly ignorant. There is no bigotry in true religion. The pure and holy principles of Christianity, enlarge the understanding, exalt the mind, and ameliorate the disposition. The obstinate and prejudiced attachment of James II., to the high pretensions of Popery, was certainly bigotry. It was the blind zeal of a devotee for a fatal and intolerant system, which, under the profession of the Christian name, has accumulated to itself the superstition of ages;



and, whilst it has annihilated the principles of Christianity, pretends to its sole administration, and fortifies itself in the strong-holds of the Apostolical authority. It was to support these arrogant claims, and to establish this intolerable usurpation, that King James II. resolved to hazard his personal honour, his ancestral inheritance, and his country's good; and, in the attempt, he utterly failed. He was abandoned by God and man, and stood alone amidst a group of cowed Priests, a miserable and isolated being, agitated by fear, and shame and grief; and, at length, driven by his remorse for the past, and his apprehensions of the future, fled his native land and abandoned his throne.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1688.

In consequence, of the King's sudden departure, the supreme power devolved upon the Peers spiritual and temporal, who from the most ancient times had, in all cases of emergency, been the "Standing Council" of the nation. They found themselves invested with an original right of applying to the nearest relations of the Crown, and of summoning the remaining part of the Legislature to re-establish the fundamental principles of the British Constitution.

Constitutional  
remedy

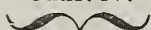
The "Council of Peers" having elected the Marquis of Halifax as their Chairman, gave it as their advice in the present emergency, that a solemn convention should be called, of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and of the Commons, in the persons of such as had served in former Parliaments.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. IV.



The Convention met on the twenty-second of January, and never did a nation proceed with greater dignity and moderation, to the settlement of the most important and difficult subject that could engage the attention of mortal men. The Commons after a long and anxious discussion, resolved,—“That, King James II. having endeavoured to subvert the constitution by breaking the original contract between King and people; and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the FUNDAMENTAL LAWS and withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom, hath abdicated the Government, and that the throne is thereby become vacant.”

The Lords concluded a long and arduous debate on the terms of this resolution by offering to the Commons the following amendments: instead of “abdicated” they would have “deserted” and that these words “that the throne is thereby become vacant” be omitted.

Decision of  
the convention.

These suggestions gave birth to a conference between the two Houses, and to the most memorable debate that ever took place in England; which ended in the concurrence of the Lords: so that this vote became the basis and foundation upon which the re-construction of the English Constitution, was to stand sure to future ages.

Their next step was to fill the deserted throne; and it is remarkable, that amongst men who discerned such anxiety to preserve the principles of



the Monarchy, that no mention should be made of the Prince of Wales. But it must be remembered that "POPERY" by this settlement of the throne, was for ever to be excluded, so that the rejection of the Prince followed in the train of his Father, unless the nation could have been entrusted with his education. To such an arrangement, however, had it been proposed, the nation would not have assented, inasmuch as the Prince was universally believed to be **SUPPOSITITIOUS**. The testimony of evidence is in favour of his legitimacy, but, it is remarkable that, the nation would not believe it; and the King was justly punished for his own falsehood, by the incredulity of the people, in a matter which affected his honour, and which ended in the utter rejection of his posterity.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. IV.

In the mean time, the unhappy King wrote the most pathetic letters to the Convention, reflecting upon the conduct of the Prince of Orange, which had induced him to leave his country, and promising once more, to be faithful to his engagements. But his promises were unavailing, and it was resolved to abolish, for ever, that religion which had taught and enabled him to break them.

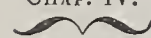
On the eleventh of February, the nation was thrown into transports of joy, by the arrival of the King's daughter, the Princess of Orange. She was received at Greenwich by the Prince and Princess of Denmark; and as they passed up the

Arrival of  
the Princess of  
Orange.



SECTION river to Whitehall, they were received with the  
 IV. lofty shouts of huzzaing multitudes.

CHAP. IV.

 On the next day, seated with her royal husband  
 William and under a canopy of state in the Banqueting Hall,  
 Mary crowned, at Whitehall, they received the offer of the Crown  
 A. D. 1688. from the two houses of Convention, and on the  
 conclusion of the august ceremony, they were  
 solemnly proclaimed King and Queen of England.

This extraordinary revolution unexampled in the records of any age or nation, established the PROTESTANT PRINCIPLE of the Constitution, in connexion with that important, and fully recognized right, of universal toleration in religion. The Church of England, at the Reformation, had proceeded to act on the principles which the Church had always pursued, expecting those baptized within her Pale, to submit to her ordinances, when such ordinances were not opposed to the word of God. This was reasonable. But it was not reasonable to enforce submission by the arm of the civil power. The State can have no power within the Church. It may protect the national Establishment, and may impose civil disabilities on its citizens, if it appear necessary for the public security and welfare. But to enforce church censures, it can have no authority. This is yet to be understood. The principle of Toleration seems manifest and simple to us. But it was not so to our forefathers. The Puritans and Presbyterians were the most intolerant of all, and carried the



principle of non-toleration to an extreme never adopted by the Church, and which, on their harsh and arbitrary assumptions, never could have led to toleration under any form. The Divines of the Church of England, were the first writers on this subject, and its greatest champions.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. IV.

To establish this great truth, and to lay the foundation for the stability, unity and prosperity of the British Empire, all the calamities of the civil war—the degradations of the Cromwellian era, and the arbitrary invasions of James II. were endured. It was the experience which mankind acquired during this long and trying period, which led them to perceive the necessity of adopting it in the social system, where it shines conspicuous as another ray of the divine benevolence, “shedding sweet influence,” and rendering harmonious all the other elements of the social system.

From this period the nation has proceeded without interruption in its mighty career, till it has gained an eminence never attained by any other nation, and acquired a dominion so extensive in both hemispheres, that the sun, as it traverses its course, never sets on its possessions, nor can it be doubted that in its political Institutions, Religion, and Laws, it stands forth by the will of the Divine Ruler, an EXEMPLAR STATE, amongst the nations of the world.







## CHAPTER V.

---

### RAPID EXTENSION AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

---

No sooner was William III. firmly seated on the throne, by the total reduction of Ireland, and the dispersion or extermination of the Highland Chieftains who had favoured the cause of James, than he turned his eager attention to the general politics of Europe. His great object was to humble the power of France, and check the progress of its ambitious Monarch. His political foresight and sagacity, soared far beyond the capacity of his English statesmen; and there was a manifest reluctance in the nation, to follow him in his great enterprise, of securing the *balance of power* amongst the nations of the European Continent.

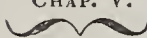
SECTION

IV.

CHAP. V.

William III.  
A. D. 1688



SECTION IV.   
CHAP. V.  
  
William III.  
A D. 1692.

Although discouraged and baffled, nothing could daunt him in the execution of his designs. The naval victory obtained over the French fleet, by Admiral Russel, off Cape-la-Hogue, May the twenty-first, sixteen hundred and ninety-two, put a final period to the hopes of James; and the peace of Ryswick gave a temporary repose to the contending powers; and, soon after, the rejected Monarch of England ended his life. He had become a religious ascetic, and his vigorous and athletic constitution, had, for some time, began to yield to the infirmities of age, and at length sunk under that melancholy which superstition generally impresses on the mind.

The peace of Ryswick could not restrain the ardent mind of William, and he laboured still more incessantly, to rouse the powers of Europe to a just sense of their interests: and he used frequently to visit his paternal seat at Loo, in Holland, for the purpose of meeting his political friends and allies, and forming schemes for future operations.

He had just formed a powerful confederacy against France, in which he had induced his English subjects cordially to unite, when he was overtaken by death. This event was occasioned by a fall from his horse, which fractured his collar-bone, and ended in fever and diarrhœa. His last act was a conference on foreign affairs, with the Earl of Albemarle, who had just returned from Holland.



This great Prince died in the fifty-second year of his age ; and, his biographer observes : “ that no man could die, either better prepared, or, with greater constancy and piety ; of whose just praises no tongue shall be silent, and no time unmindful.”

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. V.

Queen Anne.

A D. 1702.

But, though King William was dead, the great Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, was alive ; and on the accession of Queen Anne, this celebrated General was employed to conduct the war, which had been framed by her illustrious predecessor. This first campaign, at the head of the allied forces, commenced in July, 1702, and, a series of brilliant exploits followed his victorious career, in which the names of Blenheim and Ramillies, and Oudenarde, will ever be remembered in the annals of England.

In the mean time the British Empire rapidly advanced. The town of Gibraltar was taken by the Prince of Hesse, and Sir George Rooke, their defence of which, afterwards, against the combined fleets of France and Spain, is considered one of the most splendid achievements in arms.

Nor was the union between England and Scotland a less glorious achievement, by strengthening and consolidating the internal power of the nation. It was strongly and blindly opposed by the Scottish nation ; but it was the greatest boon that Kingdom ever received from the bounty of an overruling Providence, in which, He appeared to put an end to their unparalleled sufferings ; and



SECTION stay the hand of his vengeance which had reduced  
 IV. them to the lowest stage of degradation and  
 CHAP. V. misery.

Queen Anne.  
 A. D. 1711.

The last campaign of the Duke of Marlborough was A. D. 1711, in which he had accomplished every thing which the mind of William III, could have contemplated. He had never besieged a city which he did not take, nor engaged in a battle in which he was not victorious. During the nine years of the war, he had gained from France a prodigious track of country—the whole of Spanish Guelderland, Limbourg, Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault, and had he been permitted to return the following year, he would have entered Paris in triumph. But he was not permitted. On his return to England, he was accused of taking a bribe of £6,000 from a Jew, and stripped of all his employments, in which he was succeeded by the Duke of Ormond.

The treaty of Utrecht concluded this grand military movement, which entirely checked the ambitious designs of France, secured all the barriers of Holland, ever contended for by King William, whilst the British Empire received considerable additions of important territory—Gibraltar, Minorca, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Hudson's bay. In the following year, in the month of July, died the "good Queen Anne," after a reign of unexampled prosperity; leaving her country, and, Europe, in a state of profound tranquillity.



According to the terms of the "Protestant succession," the Elector of Hanover, descended from Ernest Augustus, first Elector of Brunswick and the Princess Sophia, was proclaimed King of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The Whigs, whose power had been shaken during the latter part of the late reign, once more gained the ascendancy, by representing to the King, the dislike of the Tories to his succession. They assumed the names of "Hanoverians;" whilst the Tories, as if they favoured the pretensions of James, were termed "Jacobites." The King was a man of great qualities. "My maxim is, he used to say, never to abandon my friends, to do justice to all the world, and to fear no man." But unfortunately, he was only the King of a faction. The Tories were entirely excluded from all offices of dignity and trust; and the Whigs, whilst they pretended to secure the crown for the King, were using all their arts to strengthen their own interests, extend their connections, and give law to their Sovereign. Their rule was oppressive and tyrannical. They bound the lower orders of people by severe laws, kept them at a distance by degrading distinctions, and amused them by the unmeaning cry of *Liberty!*

The highest discontents were raised throughout the Kingdom. The people murmured, became indignant and discontented, and began to sigh for the line of their ancient Monarchs, and had it not been for his AVOWED Popish prin-

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. V.

George I.  
A. D. 1714.



SECTION ciples, nothing could have prevented the return of  
 IV. the Son of James II. to the throne of his ances-  
 CHAP. V. tors. But although the nation was goaded to  
 George I. madness, by the tyranny and oppression of the  
 A. D. 1717. Whigs, they would not consent to the return of  
 "Popery," which they had repudiated for ever.

As it was, attempts were made to establish his claims, both in Scotland and the west of England. But in vain. Every attempt was defeated, and all who joined in any enterprise which had this for its object, brought upon themselves instant destruction.

Amidst the cries and sufferings of the wretched adherents of the "Pretender," who were treated with the greatest rigour, the Whig Parliament made the danger of the State, a pretext for extending the duration of Parliament, from three to seven years; whilst bribery and political profligacy were the order of the day.

Still the military glory of the country advanced. In consequence of a treaty with Austria, France, and Holland, which bore hard upon the kingdom of Spain, a war with the latter power became unavoidable; and Sir George Byng, distinguished himself in a naval engagement with the Spanish fleet, off Cape Faro. The King wrote him a letter with his own hand, expressive of the high sense he entertained of his conduct.

Notwithstanding, another attempt was made from the Spanish shores in favour of the Preten-



der; and the Duke of Ormond took the Com- SECTION  
mand of the expedition. But it was encoun- IV.  
tered by storms, and dispersed without a blow. CHAP. V.

The corrupt expenditure of the public money at this period, led to the imposition of new taxes, and to the regular formation of the national debt, which amounted to £30,000,000. This was a corrupt age, and many of the Ministers of Government, and Members of Parliament, were engaged in a most infamous transaction, called the "South Sea scheme," which was intended to enrich themselves, under the pretence of funding under one company the claims of all the national creditors. It was thought such an advantageous speculation, that all who held government security, gladly exchanged it for South Sea stock. The delusion prevailed, and the stock increased in value, to a surprising degree. The directors amassed great fortunes. But when the community found that all the promised advantages were imaginary, they awoke from their delusion, only to reap disappointment and despair.

Parliament interfered: many of the delinquents were punished and made to refund their ill-acquired booty. Still, however, many hundred families were involved in ruin. But this check to the public prosperity was not of long duration, and whilst matters were returning to their usual tranquillity, George I. died, on his way to Hano-

George I.  
A D. 1720.



SECTION IV. ver, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

CHAP. V.

George II.  
A. D. 1727.

On the accession of George II, the Whigs still continued in power, but a strong opposition was gathering strength against them; and the disputes and altercations in Parliament, were most vehement. Sir Robert Walpole made an unsuccessful attempt to introduce a general Excise. The "Country Party," acquired sufficient strength to attempt the repeal of the Septennial Act, but the Ministry, exerting all their influence, were victorious. The same contentions were carried on in the ensuing Parliament. The Ministry were called to account for their gross mismanagement in the Convention with Spain. But the Ministry were triumphant in every division, and the Country Party finding themselves outvoted in every debate, resolved to withdraw, for ever, from a Parliament where they considered every thing, corrupt and venal.

But the fall of Sir Robert Walpole was at hand. A quarrel arose with Spain, originating in injuries which they had inflicted upon the English, who had a right of cutting Logwood in the Bay of Campeachy. One remonstrance followed another to the Court of Madrid, in vain; and at length, war was formally declared.

Expensive preparations were made, and formidable expeditions sent out against the wide spread dominions of Spain, under Admirals Anson, Vernon



and Norris, but failure and disgrace attended the measures of Government, and although their Admirals displayed great courage and intrepidity, a fatality seemed to attend the Ministry; and the only reward for all these costly preparations, was the taking of a Spanish Galleon, valued at three hundred and thirteen thousand pounds.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. V.  
George II.  
A. D. 1737.

The discontents of the nation rose high against the falling Minister—a majority in Parliament was formed against him. The House adjourned for a few days—he was created Earl of Oxford, and resigned all his employments, to the universal satisfaction of the nation.

After the death of Louis XIV, France enjoyed a season of repose and prosperity, under the wise dominion of Cardinal Fleury, Regent of France. But on the death of the Emperor, Charles VI. A. D. 1740, France was, once more, seduced by her ambition, to take up arms, and to involve the Continent in the flames of war. The defenceless Queen of Hungary, daughter of the deceased Emperor, whose dominions had been invaded by the King of Prussia, was the great object of attack, and the partition of her territory seemed inevitable. But the policy established by William III, would not suffer England to be an indifferent spectator. England, accordingly, launched into the tumult of war; and immediately the desperate affairs of the Queen of Hungary were retrieved. The French were driven out of Bohemia,



SECTION and the British and Hanoverians gained a decisive victory at the battle of Dettingen. But the French were not so easily to be repulsed. They had prepared vast armaments both by sea and land. Prince Charles, the General of the Queen of Hungary, was opposed by Count Saxe, son of the late King of Poland, at the head of one hundred and twelve thousand men. England was threatened with invasion by a formidable fleet, under the young pretender, Charles Edward, grandson of James II.

IV.

CHAP. V.

George II.

A. D. 1746.

He landed in Scotland A. D. 1746 and having met with success in his first engagement at Preston Pans, he resolved upon an irruption into England. He took Carlisle—established his head quarters at Manchester, and pursued his march to Derby. The Metropolis was astonished, and even alarmed, on hearing of such an army within one hundred miles of its walls. But the counsels of the Pretender were divided; and the Highland Chieftains, averse to subordination, or terrified at finding themselves in the heart of their enemy's country, unanimously resolved to retire into Scotland. Their retreat was continued with little intermission to Inverness, where they resolved to await the arrival of the English forces under the Duke of Cumberland. An engagement ensued at Culloden, where the rebels were defeated, with great slaughter; and, a final period was put to all the designs of the descendants of a rejected race.



Meantime, the King of France, through the bad success of his Admirals at sea, and the discomfiture of his armies by land, was desirous of a general peace. The British readily acceded to his wishes, and a treaty was concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle. But it was of short duration. In the year seventeen hundred and fifty-one, the Prince of Wales, the great favourite of the people, died of a pleurisy; and, at that period, the English and French possessions were in a state of the utmost confusion. Negotiations, mutual accusations and hostilities took place between the two powers; which were to end in calling forth the energies of the English nation, and, of establishing, on a broad and solid basis, the vast and unrivalled power of the British Empire.

Mr. William Pitt was called to the helm of state. A new combination of the European Powers took place. Great Britain and Prussia had to sustain the combined assaults of France, Austria, Sweden and Russia. The whole world was involved in the fury of war. The King of Prussia, who was reinforced from England, performed exploits, perhaps, unmatched in the records of modern ages.

The British arms, in the east, now began to experience that success which had laid the foundation of our Indian Empire, whilst their victories in the Western part of the world were still more splendid. Cape Breton, defended by the almost

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. V.

George II.

A. D. 1756.



SECTION impregnable fortress of Louisbourg, was taken by  
 IV. Admiral Amherst and Boscawen, whilst Fort-du-  
 CHAP. V. Quebec surrendered to Brigadier Forbes.

In the following year A. D. 1759, the success of the British army was complete; and General Wolfe reduced the whole of North America under the British dominions, by the taking of Quebec. About the same time the Island of Guadaloupe was reduced by the British naval power.

George III. In the midst of successes by sea and land; in  
 A. D. 1760. America, Asia and Europe, King George III, succeeded his grandfather, October the twenty-fifth, A. D. 1760, to commence a career of conquest and glory unrivalled in the annals of the world. It seemed as if GOD had inspired an invincible spirit into the fleets and armies of England. The efforts of Britain, in every part of the world, were incredible. The King of Prussia was assisted with fresh subsidies, and reinforced with a body of thirty thousand men—the extensive Peninsula of India, was occupied by a large body of forces—another army of twenty thousand men proceeded to confirm their conquests in North America, whilst vast numbers were dispersed in garrisons in all parts of the world. But all this was surpassed by the astonishing naval force, which, carried conquest wherever it came. The courage and conduct of the English Admirals surpassed all former example. Nothing could intimidate them. Superior force only excited



their desire for action. Difficulties, however formidable, only inspired them with fresh resolution; and the fury of the tempest was braved as if it was the element in which they delighted to move. Admiral Hawke gained a complete victory over a French fleet, equal to him in number, in Quiberon Bay, on the coast of Bretagne, during a dark night, in the midst of a furious storm, and in the neighbourhood of a rocky shore. The Island of Belleisle, on the very coast of France, was taken by the desperate valour of the British, with the loss of one thousand eight hundred men, under Commodore Keppel and General Hodgson.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. V.

Victory of  
Admiral  
Hawke.

All this time an appearance of negotiation had been carried on between France and England for a general peace. But the French acted with insincerity, and were engaged in a secret negotiation with Spain. Having brought their designs with that Court to a conclusion, a memorial was presented by the French Ambassador, containing propositions derogatory to the honour and dignity of the nation. The paper was returned by Mr. Pitt, as wholly inadmissible; he declared it to be an insult to him, and proposed immediately to declare war against Spain. But this proposal being rejected, he resigned his employment of Secretary of State—was created Earl of Chatham, and a pension of £3,000 was settled upon him for three lives.



## SECTION

IV.

CHAP. V.

Conquests of  
Britain.

A. D. 1762.

But his successors in office were soon obliged to adopt his suggestion; and the whole world was again lighted up with the torch of war. Portugal, the ally of Great Britain, was invaded by the allied armies of France and Spain. Three immense armies entered that devoted country, and spread consternation and ruin in their path; but, contrary to all human expectation, they were checked; and, eventually, driven back by a very inferior army of British and Portuguese.

Like success attended the efforts of Great Britain in America and Asia. The French were despoiled of the Islands of Martinico, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Grenada, by which the British acquired the sole possession of all the Caribees—a magnificent chain of islands, which forms an immense bow, extending from the eastern limit of Hispaniola to the continent of South America. From Spain was taken the almost invaluable fortress called Havannah, in the Island of Cuba. The acquisition of this place was of the highest military importance; and in plunder it equalled a national subsidy, amounting to three millions sterling, whilst the capture of the Spanish register ship, called *Hermione*, by the *Active* and *Favourite*, king's ships, did not fall short of one million sterling.

But all these conquests were surpassed by that, of the Phillipine Islands, under Colonel Draper. The expedition was conducted with the greatest celerity and judgment, and by its successful termi-



nation fourteen considerable Islands fell under the power of the British, which, for their extent, fertility, and convenience of commerce, furnished the materials of a great kingdom. Spain had brought on this war by its treachery and insincerity, and it was, by a just retribution, to lay the foundation for the overthrow of its vast and unconnected Empire. The occupation of Havannah secured all the avenues of the Spanish trade, and interrupted the intercourse of their wealthy colonies with Europe. The reduction of the Phillipines excluded them from Asia.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. V.

Peace with  
France and  
Spain.

A. D. 1763.

These wide-extended conquests induced France and Spain eagerly to sue for peace, which was at length concluded at Paris, on the tenth of February, seventeen hundred and sixty-three. The Havannah was restored to Spain, on condition that Florida, St. Augustine, and Pensacola should be ceded to Britain, who, during the war, by sea or land, had gained twelve battles, reduced nine fortified cities, taken near forty castles and forts, destroyed or captured one hundred ships of war, and acquired, at least, £10,000,000 of plunder.

But these splendid achievements were far from producing contentment and happiness at home. It was necessary to raise taxes to meet the expenditure which had been incurred, and the proposal of a tax on cider, raised such murmuring and discontent throughout the country, and such factious opposition in Parliament, that the Earl of Bute,



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. V.

East India  
Company's  
Charter.

A. D. 1773.

the Prime Minister, was compelled to retire. But though no reasonable objection could be made to his successor, Mr. Grenville, and those who acted with him, the popular ferment still continued. Lord Bute was supposed to influence the counsels of the Administration, and the disposition to libel and invective grew beyond all bounds. Amongst the libellers, Mr. Wilkes, a Member of Parliament, made himself most conspicuous by the daring virulence and indecency of his writings. His prosecution only increased the popular clamour, and the contending parties were so exasperated, that the nation seemed on the point of a civil war. But the King was firm, and the popular party were discouraged. These were only the beginnings of trouble; and a long and tedious night impended over the ungrateful nation.

This period was preceded by the re-modelling of the East India Company's Charter, a work of prodigious labour and difficulty, and which met with great opposition from the Company. But on the third of May, A. D. 1773, the Prime Minister carried through the House, the fundamental principles of his plan for the future government of that extensive part of the British Empire. By these regulations, whilst the conduct of affairs was left in the hands of the Company, the territorial supremacy was vested in the Crown; and an effectual controul over their acts, secured to the British Legislature.



This great work was no sooner achieved, than the American colonial war broke out with portentous fury, drawing the whole world into the vortex of war. The English Administration, at this time, carried every thing, with a high hand, under the dignified rule of George III. They acted with great spirit and firmness in the commencement of this struggle, the object of which was to uphold the supreme authority of the Imperial Parliament, and its right to impose taxes on the dependencies and colonies of the Empire. And there can be no doubt but their energy and firmness would have been successful, had it not been thwarted by the vehemence of the opposition, at home, and the espousing of the American cause by France and Holland. Party spirit was revived with greater animosity than ever, which laid the foundation of an enmity between the Whig and Tory never to be extinguished, except in their mutual destruction—an event which now seems on the eve of accomplishment, A. D. 1841.

The high principles of the Administration prevailed. The war commenced by the destruction of Boston. Vast operations and expenditure followed. The French entered the field of action: but the British fleet was every where successful, and the British arms triumphant; whilst Spain, thinking it a favourable moment to revenge her past defeats, entered the confederacy against England. This was a trying moment. The com-

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. V.

American

war.

A. D. 1775.



SECTION bined fleet consisted of sixty sail of the line, and  
 IV. threatened an invasion of the British shore. The  
 CHAP. V. appearance of this formidable armament roused  
 Mr. Burke's the energy of the whole nation; and the universal  
 Reform. wish was, to put an end to the American war, and  
 A. D. 1780. exert the whole national strength against their  
 old and inveterate enemies.

Large sums were subscribed in the counties for the purpose of raising volunteers, and associations were formed in the towns for the same patriotic object. Enthusiasm everywhere prevailed. But in the House of Commons the virulence of opposition continued; and, to add to the embarrassments of the Government, the discontent and miserable state of Ireland, and the enormous expenditure of the war, began to create alarm in the nation. Parliament was accused of corruption; and it was alleged that, nothing short of a change in its constitution, could remedy the existing evil.

It was in the beginning of February A. D. 1780, that Mr. Burke introduced a plan for securing the independence of Parliament, and introducing economy into the various departments of the State. But the proposals of this wise and moderate statesman were rejected: the Administration, however, were shortly to meet with a formidable check. A day having been appointed for taking into consideration the petition, which had been presented from one half of the kingdom, it was carried, after a long and violent debate, “ that the influence of



the Crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished." And this was followed by another, that it was the duty of the House to provide an immediate and effectual remedy. It was even carried, that there should, every session, seven days after the meeting of Parliament, be laid before the House "an account of all sums issued out of the Civil List, or any other branch of the Revenue, since the last recess, in favour of any of its members:" a regulation of the first importance in preventing the corruption of Parliament.

In carrying these resolutions the Whig party discovered the strength they were acquiring in Parliament; but their attention was diverted by domestic alarms. In the midst of the public distraction, and the dangers of war, the Roman Catholics thought it a suitable opportunity to prefer their grievances to the notice of the Legislature. Nor were their claims rejected; the penal statutes, which prevented them from the open exercise of their religion, were abrogated. But when the same thing was attempted for Scotland, the populace rose in opposition to it. Great disturbances and tumults prevailed, and the infection reached to the lower orders of England. London was disgraced with riots, burnings, and threatenings; and, for two days, the metropolis was in possession of a lawless multitude. At length, however, by the energy of the Monarch, these dangerous in-

SECTION  
IV.

CHAP. V.

Lord Gordon's Riots.  
A. D. 1780.



SECTION surrections were quelled; but his order for the  
 IV. troops to act without the intervention of the civil  
 CHAP. V. magistrates, was thought a departure from the  
 The armed strict letter of the Constitution, although justified  
 neutrality. by necessity.  
 A. D. 1781.

In the mean time, the war was prosecuted with unabated vigour; and Admirals Parker and Rodney carried triumph and victory into every quarter of the globe. But at this moment, when the British nation was making the most successful efforts, a formidable confederacy, under the title of the “armed neutrality,” was formed, evidently with a design to crush the power of Great Britain. Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland, were the principal powers engaged in this deep political movement. The pretence was to protect their commercial interests, in the midst of the ravages of war, but, in reality, to overthrow the power of Great Britain,—but all in vain. It was discovered that Holland, in spite of existing treaties, had actually concluded a secret commercial treaty with America, and war was immediately declared against the States.

The vast efforts of Great Britain, at this period, were inconceivable. AN ALMIGHTY POWER seemed to animate her counsels—to fight her battles—and to convince her enemies of the impossibility of crushing that power which it was His intention to establish. The invincible spirit which pervaded the fleets and armies of the Empire, seemed



also to inspire the King and his Ministers: they assumed a high and commanding tone, unbecoming the condition of mortal man, and it seemed to have been adopted as a kind of maxim by the Administration, at this period, to reject and disregard all complaints from the people and distant subjects of the realm.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. V.

Admiral  
Rodney's vic-  
tory.

A. D. 1782.

But a speedy retribution was at hand, and their power was to be shaken to its very foundation. The capture of the army, under Lord Cornwallis, and other disasters in America and the West Indies, once more inspired the hopes of opposition; and, after long and strenuous debates, a motion of censure was rejected by so small a majority, that the Prime Minister, Lord North, thought proper to retire. But, as if victory was to attend even their defeat, their retirement was attended by one of the most splendid naval victories ever achieved. The French Admiral, the Count de Grasse, was taken prisoner, and delivered up his sword to the English Admiral, the Earl of Rodney.

On the thirtieth of March the Marquis of Rockingham was appointed Prime Minister, and Mr. Fox, one of the principal Secretaries of State, to the great disgust of the King, who highly resented the necessity of making this change in his counsels. Peace was now the order of the day, and immediate negotiations for that purpose were commenced at Paris. During the pacification, the Marquis of Rockingham died, and was succeeded



SECTION by the Earl of Shelburne. Mr. Fox, and many  
 IV. of his friends, retired from office ; but the nego-  
 CHAP. V. tiation proceeded, and, before the end of the year,  
 American a provisional treaty was signed between Britain  
 Independence. and America ; and, in January, seventeen hundred  
 A. D. 1783. and eighty-three, with France and Spain.

The national affairs, under the conduct of the Shelburne Administration, could not fail to have been well conducted ; and, with the return of peace, the tranquillity and prosperity of the country might have been secured. But by a formidable and dangerous combination, in one branch of the Legislature, the whole Government was thrown into confusion ; and even the stability of the Monarchy endangered. This was an unprincipled and flagitious coalition between two powerful parties of the Commons, who, finding themselves, hopelessly, excluded from power, determined to gratify their ambition and avarice by uniting their forces, and compelling the Monarch to place in their hands the administration of public affairs.

Lord North, the late Minister, who had been the uncompromising supporter of the Royal Prerogative and the strenuous advocate of the American war, was the leader of one faction, and the Right Honourable C. J. Fox, the great champion of the people's privileges, and the great opposer of the war, was the leader of the other. Their united efforts became irresistible, and the King was under the necessity of placing them at the head of his




affairs. The Duke of Portland was made Prime Minister, and Lord North and Mr. Fox were appointed Secretaries of State. The celebrated Mr. Pitt and Mr. Jenkinson afterwards Earl of Liverpool, now first appeared in opposition; and by their instrumentality, it pleased God, to grant deliverance to the nation. The Ministers carried every thing by large majorities; and, at length, Mr. Fox brought in his famous India Bill, which was intended to place the whole territorial government of India in the hands of seven Commissioners, nominated by themselves—a measure which would have rendered them independent both of the Crown and the people! But this proposed stratagem, for gaining political ascendancy, was discovered and frustrated by the resolution and firmness of the King. The Bill passed the House of Commons, but, through the personal interference of the King, it was rejected by the Lords; and the next day the King demanded from them the seals of office, without a private interview, which, he said, would be “disagreeable.”

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. V.


 Mr. Fox's  
India Bill.

A new Administration was now formed under the “IMMORTAL PITT.” He fought the battle of the Constitution, and of the Royal Prerogative in the free election of its Ministers, against the “coalition,” which carried their opposition with an immense majority. They raged—they threatened—they addressed the Throne—they remonstrated. But the King was firm. The people



SECTION saw the nature of this unparalleled contest, and supported the Monarch and his Ministers. Addresses flowed in from all parts of the kingdom, filled with sentiments of admiration and loyalty. The heroic Minister held on his way, and the majority of the Opposition at last dwindled to one. The Parliament was then dissolved, and the triumph was complete. But it was not for England only, that this triumph was achieved, but for the interests of Europe and the world. By this remarkable change, England was placed in a situation successfully to contend with the difficulties which lay in her course. Her whole strength was concentrated, and an enthusiastic admiration of their King and Constitution was created in the breasts of all ranks of the people.

The new Parliament, in which one hundred and sixty of the coalition members had been displaced, was chiefly employed in settling the national affairs. Mr. Pitt enjoyed the unbounded confidence of the people; and several Bills which he introduced, for the regulation of the East India Company's affairs, passed the Houses without opposition. In the following Session, he even introduced a plan of Parliamentary Reform, but it was rejected by a vast majority, a measure which was thus left to throw the nation, at a later period, into convulsion and alarm. The whole state of European politics were, at this period, in a state of great activity and excitement. Commercial treaties were every

IV.  
CHAP. V.  
The immortal Pitt.  
A. D. 1783.



where negotiating, and new combinations of the continental powers were formed. In England, the fortifications of Portsmouth and Plymouth were completed; new laws respecting the militia were enacted; and the celebrated measure of the Sinking Fund, for the payment of the national debt, introduced.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. V.

Trial of Warren Hastings.  
A. D. 1786.

It was at this time of profound tranquillity, when England, having recovered from the effects of the late war, was proceeding in a course of steady prosperity, and the administration of affairs, conducted in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution, produced its usual natural results, that the celebrated Mr. Burke acquired for himself immortal reputation, as an orator and a statesman. By his mighty efforts in behalf of the population of India, which led to the famous impeachment of Warren Hastings, Esq., governor-general of Bengal, his name will deserve to live in the annals of his country. Still nothing seemed to threaten the tranquillity of the Empire. The life of the King, indeed, was threatened by a maniac, named Margaret Nicholson, who aimed a deadly blow, and struck him with a knife, but without inflicting any injury on the royal person; whilst his constancy, his patriotism, and his domestic virtues drew forth the love and admiration of his subjects.

But amidst these bright scenes of national prosperity a dark cloud was impending, and a secret volcano was preparing, which, in its hideous ex-



SECTION IV.  
 CHAP. V.  
 French Revolution.  
 A. D. 1789.

plosion, convulsed the whole European continent, and threatened to overwhelm and bury, in one common ruin, all the establishments of the old world. The scene of this horrible convulsion was France. Since the time of Louis XIV. this country had been sinking into a state of weakness and decrepitude, and the whole society of the kingdom was reduced to the lowest state of moral depravity; and it was now to be made the instrument of its own fearful punishment. The profligacy and corruption of the Court had given rise to a vast expenditure, which, at length, brought it into great financial difficulties. The King, who had hitherto governed as an absolute Monarch, was obliged to assemble the Parliaments. In consequence of their debates, the spirit of freedom was again revived, and these awakenings of the public mind were hailed, by all the statesmen of the day, as a favourable omen for France. Mr. Pitt, in his place in Parliament, in this year, expressed his favourable opinion with respect to the French movement. But these enlivening appearances were soon overclouded. The democratic power of the nation, influenced and directed by the Infidel party, burst through all the restraints of society—ravaged the city of Paris—assaulted the royal Palace, and took the Monarch and his family prisoners. To avenge this outrage, Austria and Prussia were instantly in arms, and threatened France with invasion. England was agitated



with the revolutionary mania. Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan gave it their powerful support in the British Parliament, and the disaffected and virulent part of the nation, espoused the Republican cause. France, armed with a maniacal fury, sprung to arms. Her nobles were massacred—her King beheaded—her citizens murdered. Her streets *literally* ran with human blood. Amidst the infuriate orgies of their rebellion, Religion was abolished—the Sabbath was blotted out from the calendar—the Most High God was rejected, and a prostitute, dressed as a heathen goddess, was set up as the ensign of their divinity. All Europe was now in a flame: England, in her own defence, was obliged to enter the field of carnage, and a declaration of war was made. During the demoniacal and revolutionary fury, Robespierre bore the chief sway, and exercised every species of the most remorseless cruelty and barbarity, in consequence of which this period has been called “The Reign of Terror.”

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. V.  
The Reign of  
Terror.  
A. D. 1793.

Nor could any thing resist the impetuosity of the French armies. They overran the Austrian Netherlands and Holland, and made desperate inroads upon Germany, Spain, and Italy. It was only at sea that Lord Howe, the British Admiral, put some check to their daring fury. The whole French nation was seized with a military ardour; and their ambition would permit no bounds to be fixed to their future empire, but the limits of the



SECTION world. This martial spirit gave birth to great  
 IV. military leaders, and one arose of sublime military  
 CHAP. V. genius, who was destined, in the providence of  
 Rise of God, to curb the lawless licentiousness of his own  
 Buonaparte. country, and to punish the kings and nations of  
 A. D. 1796. the earth for their ambition, treachery, and impiety. This was Napoleon Buonaparte.

The French, disdaining all thoughts of peace, had compelled Spain and Holland into the sanguinary struggle. Spain suffered a dreadful loss in a naval engagement with Admirals Jervis and Nelson; and Holland, besides being defeated by Admiral Duncan, was deprived of the Cape of Good Hope, of their possessions in Ceylon, and of the islands of Amboyna and Banda. Nor was British valour less conspicuous by land. Buonaparte, now First Consul, who had invaded Egypt with a powerful army, was successfully encountered by Sir Ralph Abercrombie, whilst, by the defeat of the French fleet, in the Bay of Aboukir, Nelson established, beyond all competition, the maritime fame of England.

Whilst Buonaparte, on his return from Egypt, was preparing, as First Consul, to organize vast armies, for the purpose of universal conquest, another military leader, endued, if not with equal enthusiasm, yet with greater powers of judgment, arose in England; and, whilst the former possessed all the fire and daring of the soldier, the latter was wanting in no qualification necessary for a



consummate general. But it was long before these two chieftains were to meet; and, in the mean time, England had to contend against difficulties, almost insurmountable—a mutiny in her fleet; a rebellion in Ireland, which raged in the summer of seventeen hundred and ninety-eight, in which the Papists were assisted by the French. The Irish rebels were overcome by the Marquis of Cornwallis, and the revolt itself was productive of the consolidation of the Empire, by leading to the legislative incorporation of Ireland with Great Britain. Strenuous efforts were made by the Romanists to obtain the repeal of all the civil disabilities under which they laboured, arising from their adhesion to the Popedom. But the King was firm; and Mr. Pitt, who favoured their claims, was obliged to retire from office.

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. V.

Popish rebellion in Ireland.

A. D. 1798.

Still the war raged; and the Emperor Paul, of Russia, having proclaimed a renewal of the “armed neutrality,” in which he was joined by the Swedes and Danes, Lord Nelson was sent to bombard Copenhagen, which produced their submission, in the terms of which, Alexander, who succeeded to the throne of Russia, acquiesced.

Mr. Addington, who succeeded Mr. Pitt, made peace with Buonaparte, which was of short duration, and Mr. Pitt was again restored to the helm of power. He saw that a prodigious effort was necessary, and that the power of France was, at all events, to be checked. He organised the internal



SECTION strength of the kingdom—quelled the factious and  
 IV. rebellious spirit of Ireland—fortified the king-  
 CHAP. V. dom—and made proposals for a systematic concert  
 Battle of amongst the European Powers, to withstand the  
 Trafalgar. aggression of Napoleon, who had been anointed  
 A. D. 1805. Emperor of France, by the Pope.

But his tide of prosperity was yet in its advance. He crossed the Rhine with an immense army, and, at Austerlitz, obtained a signal victory over the combined forces of Russia and Austria—a disaster which was scarcely remedied by one of the most splendid naval victories recorded in our annals. This action was fought between the combined fleets of France and Spain and the British fleet, October twenty-first, near Cape Trafalgar. And, although the English were gratified with the tidings of such a decisive triumph, they had to lament the fall of their invincible Admiral. He was buried at St. Paul's, with public honours, and the grief which it excited, extended itself to every breast. It was, as if each had lost his dearest friend; and his name will be remembered by every generation, to whom he has bequeathed the maxim—"England expects every man to do his duty." Nor did he fall alone. The cup of national grief was full, when Pitt, the incomparable statesman, sunk under the arduous struggle, at the age of forty-six. The unsuccessful termination of the continental campaign, in the disastrous battle of Austerlitz, hastened his end; and,



whilst his patriotic spirit was disentangling itself from the body, this brief and expressive prayer escaped from his lips: "O! save my country, Heaven."

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. V.

Invasion of

Spain.

A. D. 1803.

Lord Grenville now came into power, and brought with him the Honourable Charles James Fox, as Secretary of Foreign Affairs, but who, after a short career, was succeeded by Mr. Grey. The strenuous policy of Pitt was retarded by their ineffectual negotiations for peace; and Buonaparte made gigantic strides towards universal dominion, whilst his brother, Joseph Buonaparte, was placed on the throne of Naples.

The Grenville Administration lost their places for again suggesting to the King the granting of the "Catholic Claims;" and were succeeded in office by the Duke of Portland, Mr. Percival, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Canning.

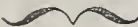
The Emperor of the French still triumphed. At Eylau and Friedland he defeated the confederates. But England stood firm to the interests of Europe, when all the continental powers, humbled and overawed by the conquests and military genius of Buonaparte, seemed willing to submit to his authority. The conqueror of so many States now turned his ambition to Spain, which soon submitted to his arms, and received his brother Joseph as King, whilst Murat, one of his marshals, succeeded to the crown of Naples.



## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. V.

  
 Battle of  
 Corunna.  
 A. D. 1809.

Portugal was now threatened with immediate subjugation; and the British Cabinet, firm to the principles and policy of Pitt, continued their opposition to the ambitious power of France. They despatched an army into Spain, under Sir John Moore, who gloriously fell at Corunna. But the "Great Captain of the Age" was at hand; and Sir Arthur Wellesley entered Portugal, and drove the French army, under their most experienced generals, from that kingdom; and, pursuing them from victory to victory, by prodigious efforts of skill and courage, laid the foundation for their future overthrow. But the great and good King of England ceased any longer to rejoice at the tidings of victory: worn out with the toils of state, his anxious spirit was too powerfully acted upon by the death of his beloved daughter, Amelia, and the sensations of grief ended in the subversion of reason.

He was succeeded by the Prince of Wales, as Regent, who, contrary to the expectations of his friends, pursued the same line of policy adopted by his father. It was at this time, A. D. 1812, that the Prime Minister, Mr. Percival, was shot by Bellingham, a discontented trader, and was succeeded by the Earl of Liverpool. Sir Arthur Wellesley, now Lord Wellington, commenced his fifth victorious campaign in Spain, whilst Buonaparte, leaving the conduct of the war to his generals, with an immense army invaded Russia; but the inhabitants



having set fire to Moscow, he was obliged to retreat, amidst the horrors of a Russian winter, and he reached France with the almost total loss of his army. On his return, such was his energy and influence, that he was soon at the head of another army, sufficient to contend with all the power of Austria, Prussia, and Russia. But his career was advancing to its close. Wellington, after reconquering Spain, A. D. 1813, prepared to enter France itself, at the head of his victorious troops. At the same time the confederate powers, under the Austrian general, the Prince of Swartzenbourg, had driven Buonaparte from Leipzic, and pursued their advantage to the Rhine, in spite of the rigour of the season. Nor was Wellington behind. Having passed the Adour, which was deemed impracticable, he advanced in the direction of Paris to attack Marshal Soult, who had taken up a most advantageous position at Orthes. The assault was irresistible, and the enemy fled with precipitation. Buonaparte, distracted between the two armies, retired behind them, with a view of drawing them from the capital, but the allies were not to be diverted: they rapidly advanced, and, after a slight opposition, entered the metropolis of France, in triumph. Such was the fall and disgrace of the most corrupt city of the modern world; and its occupation by foreign troops filled Europe with joy.

The rage and despair of Buonaparte were exercised in vain. He was obliged to abdicate the

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. V.

Abdication of  
Buonaparte.  
A. D. 1814.



SECTION throne; and Louis Xavier, the brother of their  
 IV. murdered King, was restored to the throne of his  
 CHAP. V. ancestors. Buonaparte retired in exile to Elba.

Return of  
 Buonaparte.  
 A. D. 1815.

At the same time, the war which had been carried on between Canada and the United States, was brought to a termination. But the short calm which followed the raging storm in Europe was delusive. The *Prince of Elba*, having well concerted his schemes, landed, with twelve hundred of his boldest followers, in the south of France. His veteran soldiers every where hailed his presence. He entered Paris in triumph, and once more took possession of the Palace, from which Louis had just fled with precipitation.

By a kind of miraculous agency, Buonaparte instantly assembled an army of one hundred thousand men, and advanced to meet the Prussian and British forces, which were already in the field. On his arrival at the Sambre, he attacked some Prussian posts, and, elate with his success, he advanced to meet Blucher, who, after a desperate conflict at Ligny, was obliged to fall back. The Duke of Wellington, in the mean time, had posted the British army near Brussels, with the village of Waterloo behind, in a position which enabled him to secure a communication with the Prussian army. His close embattled ranks consisted of sixty-five thousand men. The battle was begun by a furious assault on the right wing of the British line, by Jerome Buonaparte: the attack




soon became general, and the British, with steady courage, for six hours, repelled all the efforts of the French, till at length the Prussians, under Blucher, reached the scene of action. The Duke of Wellington saw the decisive moment was arrived, and, at the word of command, the whole British line rushed forward to certain victory. Irremediable confusion instantly spread through the ranks of the enemy. Never was there a more disorderly, or disgraceful retreat. The British soldiers were too much fatigued to continue the pursuit, a duty which devolved on the Prussians, who sacrificed vast numbers of the unhappy fugitives. Hope was not yet extinct in the bosom of Napoleon; and he endeavoured to rally his dispersed troops, but an Austrian force had now entered his frontiers, and all opposition was fruitless. He surrendered himself to a British man-of-war; and was soon after conveyed to the Island of St. Helena, where his ambitious spirit was destined to be lashed by the stings of remorse, and tormented by the upbraidings of a guilty conscience; affording to mankind a striking and monitory lesson of the vanity of all sublunary glory, and the retributory justice of an overruling Providence.

His perpetual banishment from all connexion with the busy world, was followed by the congress of Vienna, and arrangements were made for the security of the balance of power in Europe; in which the policy of William III, of glorious me-

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. V.  
Battle of  
Waterloo.  
A. D. 1815.



SECTION IV.  
CHAP. V.  
  
Death of the Princess Charlotte.  
A. D. 1817.

mory, and his successor in political wisdom, the immortal Pitt, were fully accomplished. France was subjected to a great loss of territory, and disgraced by heavy pecuniary demands. Hanover and Holland were raised to the dignity of kingdoms; and to the latter was added the Netherlands, which would enable the Prince of Orange to withstand, with more probable chance of success, any future encroachments of the power of France. This mighty event brought to a termination, that long and arduous struggle which had engaged the attention of successive statesmen from the time of William III, and gave birth to a new and splendid era of commercial, political, and religious enterprise, which is conducting the world to a more enlarged and enlightened period of its existence.

On the return of peace, the minds of men were agitated and absorbed in the great concerns of domestic policy, which caused great debates in Parliament, and violent commotions amongst the people. Whilst thus engaged in unavailing complaints and mutual reproaches, the heaviest calamity that a nation ever experienced fell upon the whole people. The desire of their eyes was taken from them at a stroke. The Princess Charlotte, their future Queen, who, inheriting all the noble qualities of her House, had, by her conduct, drawn to herself the affections of all, was suddenly removed in giving birth to a son. The double bereavement filled the nation with the



deepest sorrow. Every house was clad with mourning—every breast was the seat of sorrow. On the day of her burial, funeral sermons were preached in every church of the kingdom, to crowded audiences, attired in the emblems of real, not fictitious sorrow. Never was there such a day of national lamentation. But the tide of the world's affairs stopped not. The congress of Aix-la-Chappelle had already assembled, to make its final arrangements respecting the affairs of Europe; and on the fourth of November, eighteen hundred and eighteen, it was notified to the French Minister, that the allied powers thought it no longer necessary to occupy their territory, and had resolved on withdrawing their troops beyond the frontiers of that kingdom.

SECTION

IV.


CHAP. V.

Death of  
George III.  
A. D. 1820.

And, as if to mark this epoch of history with greater distinctness, it was closed by the death of George III, the GREAT and the GOOD, who had been raised up as the grand instrument of its accomplishment. His high conservative and constitutional principle towered over all opposition. His integrity, uprightness, and patriotism were a wall of adamant around his throne. His piety and christian charity endeared him to his subjects; and his native courage and resolution made him the dread of their enemies: and he will live in the records of posterity as the "Father of his People, and the Friend of the Poor."



SECTION IV. Nor was his death alone. It was preceded, a few days only, by that of one of the most illustrious Princes in Christendom—the ornament of his country, and the friend of humanity. This was his son the Duke of Kent, the father of our gracious Queen. **“Regnat, diuque regnet;”** and may she tread in the steps and follow in the bright example of her noble father, adhere to the principles of the constitution, and win a record as lasting and glorious as that of her grandsire, of SACRED MEMORY!\*

CHAP. V.  
  
 Death of the  
 Duke of Kent.  
 A. D. 1820.

\* Prophecy of Isaiah xxvi., v. 17.—Jeremiah xxxii., v. 17, 18, 19.

FINIS.







